

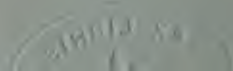




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# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PART II. 1485—1689.



# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

*IN THREE PARTS*

PART II. 1485—1689

BY

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"RULES OF LATIN SYNTAX," "EASY PIECES FOR TRANSLATION IN LATIN PROSE,"  
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"NOTES ON ST. LUKE," "NOTES ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES,"  
"NOTES ON SAMUEL I."

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## P R E F A C E .

THE success which has attended the publication of the "*Outlines of English History*," has induced the Author to issue this present volume. It will be found to be more comprehensive and fuller in detail than the "*Outlines*," and will, it is hoped, prove useful to those who are preparing any part of the period 1485—1689 as a "Special Period" of English History.

In compiling the Book the Author begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to Fearenside's "*Matriculation Modern History*."



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## PART II

# 1485—1689

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HENRY VII., 1485—1509 (24 years).

**Title:** See page 3.

**Married,** Elizabeth of York.

### *SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

#### **SECTION I.—ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII.**

Henry's first measures. His right to the throne. His home policy.

#### **SECTION II.—THE YORKIST REBELLIONS.**

Causes. Lord Lovell's Rebellion. Lambert Simnel's Rebellion. Court of Star Chamber established. Perkin Warbeck's Rebellion; Warbeck appears in Ireland, and subsequently in France and Burgundy; he makes an attempt on England, and afterwards withdraws to Flanders; the Treaty of Magnus Intercursus; Warbeck goes to Scotland; rebellion in Cornwall; execution of Warbeck and Warwick.

#### **SECTION III.—RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.**

War with France and Treaty of Etaples. Relations with Scotland, under James III. and James IV. Relations with Spain. Relations with the Archduke Philip. Affairs in Ireland; Poynings' Law. Henry's Death and Character. His means of raising money. Maritime Enterprise. The New Learning. The Art of Printing. The Law of Entail.

**NAMES OF NOTE.**

Archbishop Morton ; Sir William Stanley ; Sir Edward Poynings ; Fox, Bishop of Winchester ; Edward Plantagenet, son of George, Duke of Clarence ; Empson and Dudley ; Lord Lovell ; Lambert Simnel ; Perkin Warbeck ; Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy ; Christopher Columbus ; John Sebastian Cabot.

**LEADING DATES.**

Battle of Stoke . . . . .	1487
Discovery of the West Indies . . . . .	1492
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The Great Intercourse . . . . .	1496
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**SECTION I.—ACCESSION OF HENRY VII.**

1. **His first Measures.** Immediately after the battle of Bosworth, Henry committed **Edward Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, son of George, Duke of Clarence, to the Tower. Warwick was the nearest male heir to the throne, and Richard, fearing lest he might prove a dangerous rival, had confined him in the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire.

The **Princess Elizabeth**, daughter of Edward IV., to whom Henry was betrothed, was conducted by several noblemen to her mother's house in London. **John de la Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. had recognised as his legal successor, was reconciled to Henry, and allowed to remain at court. Shortly afterwards Henry himself arrived in London, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy and crowned King. No executions followed the Battle of Bosworth, as had been the case in the other battles of the Wars of the Roses. On the contrary, to inspire confidence in those whom he had overcome, Henry issued a general pardon.

2. **His right to the Throne.** Henry's right to the throne, if indeed he had any, must be based on three grounds :—

(1) **Right of Birth**, as being descended from John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III. He told his first Parliament that "*he had come to the throne by the just title of his inheritance, and by the judgment of God, who had given him victory.*" His claim, however, on this ground was not worth much, seeing that the Beaufort line had been declared illegitimate, and, in consequence, excluded from the line of succession.

(2) **Right of Conquest**. To have advanced this claim "would have united both friends and foes in a common league against him, because it was held that a conqueror had a right to dispossess all men of their lands."

(3) **Sanction of Parliament**. When Parliament met, it passed an Act stating, that "*the inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain and abide in King Henry VII.,*" without giving any reason why it was to be so.

NOTE 1.—Henry further strengthened the claims he had put forward, by (a) obtaining from the Pope a confirmation of his right, (b) marrying the Princess Elizabeth. He was, however, careful that the right of his wife, as the representative of a rival and hated family, should in no way supersede, or even support his own, and he did not marry her, until he was fully convinced that his subjects had acknowledged him King in virtue of his own right. By the blending of the two roses "*white and red*" in the Tudor badge, Henry signified that he intended to be King of both parties.

NOTE 2.—No doubt the nation generally was weary of the internecine struggle between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and gladly accepted Henry, although a "*mere exile and an adventurer*," as one who would "unite the interests of the two Roses, and bequeath to posterity the benefit of an undisputed succession."

3. **His Home Policy**. Henry took but little part in continental politics, except so far as it assisted him in crushing the Yorkist rebellions. His **home policy** was, however, strong and well-defined. His chief aims were :—(1) to put down all rivals, and secure the throne for himself and his descendants. This will account for the determined way in which he suppressed all the Yorkist rebellions.

(2) To destroy the already shattered power of the nobles and extend that of the Crown. The sanguinary "Wars of the Roses" had been essentially a war between the nobles, and had ended in their mutual destruction. This may be

seen from the fact that in 1451 Henry VI. summoned *fifty-three* temporal peers to Parliament, while in 1485 Henry VII. summoned only *twenty-nine*, and of these, several had just been raised to the peerage. With this almost universal destruction of the "Old Nobility," Feudalism had crumbled to pieces, and on its ruins Henry gradually built up a strong monarchy, supported, not by a large and efficient army, but by a "New Nobility," created by him and depending solely on him for its power and influence. We no longer read of powerful barons like Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster, and the Earl of Warwick, "the king-maker," who could form a confederacy against the King, strong enough either to coerce or even overthrow him, if he exceeded the limits of his power.

NOTE.—This increased power of the Crown was now to be the great means of "unifying the country, protecting industry and commerce, and promoting the social and intellectual progress and welfare of the people." It was also to give the "English middle classes, who were gradually increasing in wealth and importance, what they so much desired—the protection of a strong government."

(3) To maintain peace and order and make all men obey the laws. To carry out these aims the more effectually, he greatly increased the powers of the Court of Star Chamber, by which he gathered up, so to speak, into his own hands the whole reins of government.

(4) To amass money. His maxim was that a "*king, who wished to be strong, must always have money.*" Moreover he saw that the possession of wealth would free him from the necessity of calling Parliaments for grants of money. Thus it was, that the Parliament was summoned only *seven times* during the whole of his reign, and only *once* during the last thirteen years.

## SECTION II.—THE YORKIST REBELLIONS.

**Causes.** The reign of Henry VII. is remarkable for the many attempts made by the Yorkists to dethrone the new King and place a Yorkist on the throne. The chief causes which led to these attempts were :—(1) Henry's partiality for the Lancastrians, and his marked aversion of the Yorkists; (2) His recalling all grants of Crown lands made to the Yorkists in

the course of the last thirty years; (3) His delaying the coronation of his queen Elizabeth. But besides these causes, it must be borne in mind that the old Feudal spirit still lingered among the Barons, and that the Wars of the Roses had continued too long to be ended all at once. There still existed a deeply-rooted animosity between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, which took the form of plots and rebellions against the reigning King.

1. **Lord Lovell's Rebellion, 1486.** Richard III. had gained great popularity in the North by making "Royal Progress," and Henry determined to conciliate the people by following his example. Accordingly, he set out from London to York, accompanied by the sheriffs, nobility and gentry of the various counties through which he passed, dispensing favours, conferring honours, and granting redress of grievances. While on his journey, there was a feeble Yorkist rising under **Lord Lovell** and the **Staffords**. Lord Lovell attempted to seize the King on his entry into York, but he and his followers were routed by Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford. Lovell himself fled, and sought refuge at the court of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV., and Henry's most bitter foe. The Staffords had seized Worcester, but they were easily suppressed, and the elder Stafford executed.
2. **Lambert Simnel's Rebellion, 1487.** The birth of a son, Prince Arthur, seemed likely to secure the crown for Henry's family, and this encouraged the Yorkists to make an extraordinary attempt to overthrow the new King. **Simnel** is said to have been the son of a joiner at Oxford. He was a youth of handsome appearance and engaging manners and address, and had been trained by Richard Symons, a priest, to personate the young **Earl of Warwick**, who was the son of George, Duke of Clarence, and at that very time a prisoner in the Tower. One of the reasons assigned for his personating a prince, who was still living, is, that the originators of the plot intended to set aside the impostor, if the plot succeeded. *To have proclaimed the real Earl of Warwick, while he was still a prisoner, would have endangered his life.*

(1) **Simnel appears in Ireland.** Simnel first appeared in Ireland, where it was thought that no one would be able to



detect the imposture. He gave out, that he had escaped from the Tower, and so he was well received by the **Earl of Kildare**, the chief of the Fitzgeralds, and saluted as king. Communication was at once opened with the English Yorkists. **John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln**, who had been declared heir to the throne by Richard III. on the death of his son, joined the conspiracy, and obtained from the Duchess of Burgundy, a body of 2,000 veteran Germans under the command of **Martin Schwartz**, an able and distinguished officer. With these troops, De la Pole and Lord Lovell sailed away to Dublin, where the "boy" was crowned in the Cathedral of that city as Edward VI., *"with a circle of silver taken from the statue of the Virgin Mary."* Writs were issued in his name and a Parliament convened. Meanwhile Henry was not inactive. He levied troops, and caused the real Earl to be paraded through the streets of London, and exposed at St. Paul's to the view of the whole city.

(2) **Simnel lands in England but is defeated at Stoke, 1487.** It was resolved to attack Henry in England, and so the "boy king" and his followers landed near Ulverston, in Lancashire. Pushing their way across the country, they advanced as far as **Stoke**, where Henry met them, and after three hours' desperate fighting won a decisive victory. Lincoln and his Yorkist followers, Schwartz and his "merry men," and Kildare with his brave Irish "gallow-glasses," to the number of 4,000, all perished. Lord Lovell swam the Trent and so escaped, but is supposed to have concealed himself in a secret subterranean chamber at **Minster Lovell**, in Oxfordshire, and there to have died, either of his wounds or of neglect and starvation. Simnel was captured, and Henry, to show his extreme contempt for his rival, made him turnspit in the royal kitchen, while Symons was made to confess the imposture and then thrown into prison, where he died.

(3) **Results.** (a) The Queen, who had hitherto been kept in the back ground, was now crowned, and the ceremony performed with the greatest pomp and magnificence. (b) A **Bill of Attainder** was passed against nearly every man of rank or distinction, who had taken part in Simnel's rebellion.

(c) Pardon was offered to the Fitzgeralds in Ireland, on condition of their swearing allegiance to Henry.

NOTE.—Court of Star Chamber established. The failure of this attempt on the part of the Yorkists to dethrone Henry, so strengthened his position that he was enabled to pass an Act in his second Parliament for the establishment of a court, subsequently known as the Court of Star Chamber.

- (1) Its constitution. This court consisted of the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, one bishop, one temporal peer, and the chief judges.
- (2) Its powers. It punished offenders by fines (often so heavy that it was impossible for the culprit to offend again), imprisonment and mutilation, without the intervention of a jury, but it had not the power of life and death. "It was the greatest merit of this new Court that it was not dependent on a jury, because in those days juries were unable or unwilling to give verdicts according to their conscience." (GARDINER.)
- (3) Its main object was to bring to trial and punish all nobles, particularly the "*stout gentlemen of the north of England*," who broke the laws against Maintenance, a system, by which the nobles retained their liveried attendants, who were bound by oath to fight in their quarrels. *The abolition of Maintenance was the death-blow to Feudalism.*

As an instance of Henry's manner of dealing with the nobles and enforcing the laws against Maintenance, the following case may be mentioned. On one occasion the King had visited the Earl of Oxford, one of the leading Lancastrians, and as he was leaving the Earl's mansion, he passed through two lines of men in the Earl's livery, drawn up to do him honour. "My lord," said he to the Earl, "these are of course your menial servants." "Sir, they are my retainers," replied the Earl, "assembled to do honour to your Majesty." "My lord," said the King, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I cannot endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." The Earl was summoned before the Court of Star Chamber and fined £10,000 for keeping retainers.

- (4) Besides this, the Court took cognizance of riots, illegal impanelling of juries, unlawful assemblies, conspiracy, perjury, fraud, and libel. Though necessary at the time for the preservation of order, under future kings its power became most tyrannical, and it tried and punished men, who offended the King or his ministers by writing or by word.

The name "Star Chamber" was given to the Court, either because the roof was decorated with "stars," or because it was the room, in which Jewish bonds or "starres" had formerly been kept.

3. **Perkin Warbeck's Rebellion, 1492-1499.** Warbeck's rebellion was by far the most formidable of all the attempts made by the Yorkists to dethrone Henry.

(1) **Warbeck appears in Ireland and subsequently in France and Burgundy.** In 1492 a youth richly dressed, of handsome features and courtly demeanour, appeared in Cork, giving out that he was Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV., and that he had escaped from the Tower, when his brother Edward V. was murdered. He was as cordially welcomed by the Irish, as the impostor Simnel had been. On receiving an invitation from **Charles VIII. of France**, who was at that time at war with Henry, Warbeck repaired to the court of that monarch. Henry, in alarm, at once concluded a peace with Charles, generally known as the **Treaty of Etaples** (see page 13), one clause of which stipulated, *that Warbeck should quit the French dominions.* Warbeck next found refuge at the court of the Duchess of Burgundy, who welcomed him as the real Duke of York, and rightful heir to the English throne, named him the "White Rose of England," and gave him a "body-guard of thirty halberdiers clad in mulberry-red and blue."

Meanwhile Henry spared neither money nor pains to unravel the mystery. To convince the people that Warbeck was an impostor, he published the statements made by Dighton and Tyrell, the murderers of the two princes, but as the bodies of the two victims could not be found, their evidence was not of much value. From his well-paid emissaries, however, Henry soon found out that the pretender's real name was Perkin Warbeck, and that he was the son of respectable parents in Tournay. He at once despatched **Sir Edward Poynings** as ambassador to **Philip, Duke of Burgundy**, requesting that Warbeck might be expelled from Burgundy. On his receiving an answer to the effect, that he could not comply with Henry's request, since the Duchess had absolute control in her own dominions, Henry showed his displeasure by prohibiting all commercial intercourse between England and Flanders, ordering all the Flemings to leave England, and removing the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais. Moreover he bought over **Sir Robert Clifford**, the leading agent of the Yorkists in



Flanders, on whose evidence several English noblemen were arrested on a charge of treason and executed.

NOTE.—Among these was Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain, who had been the chief means of securing the crown for Henry. He is reported to have said in confidence to Clifford, that “*if he were sure that Warbeck was the son of King Edward IV., he would never fight against him.*” His undoubted complicity in the plot was sufficient ground for his execution, while his enormous wealth and possessions offered too great a temptation to the avaricious King, and proved an obstacle to his granting him a pardon. By his death Henry became possessed of plate and money worth £40,000, and an estate of the annual value of £3,000.

(2) **Warbeck makes an attempt on England.** In 1495 Warbeck made an unsuccessful attack on England at Deal. He sent a small party of his followers on shore, while he himself remained on board to watch the result of the attack. The invaders were easily repelled by the men of Kent, and those who were taken prisoners sent to London with ropes round their necks, and afterwards hanged, some in London and others all along the coast.

NOTE.—While Henry was beset with so imminent a danger of invasion, he induced Parliament to pass an act, known as the **De Facto Statute**, declaring “that no one who served the King for the time being, whether he was the lawful King or no, should be liable to be attainted as a traitor in the event of that King’s dethronement.”

(3) **Warbeck withdraws from Flanders.** Henry’s diplomatic skill aided him in procuring Warbeck’s dismissal from Flanders. Both that country and England had suffered much from the interruption of commercial intercourse, caused by Warbeck’s presence at the court of the Duchess, and the Flemish merchants now induced Philip (who was practically the ruler of the Netherlands, as Count of Flanders) to conclude a great commercial treaty with Henry, known as the **Magnus Intercursus** (“Great Intercourse”). It stipulated :—

(a) That every facility for a reciprocal liberty of trading “in all commodities to each other’s ports without pass or license” should be afforded to the two countries ; (b) That both countries should give assistance and support to each other in all commercial enterprise and aid each other in suppressing privateering and piracy ; (c) That each country

should expel from its dominions the known enemies of the other, and that Philip in this present instance should not allow the Duchess to harbour or protect the King's rebels on pain of being deprived of her territories.

NOTE.—This Treaty, while marking a very important era in the history of Commercial Treaties, also effectually put an end to Warbeck's finding refuge in Flanders.

(4) **Warbeck goes to Scotland.** After leaving Flanders, Warbeck proceeded to Scotland, where he was well received by James IV., who gave him his own cousin, **Catherine Gordon**, in marriage, coined his plate to supply him with money, and even raised an army, and invaded England in his behalf. Meanwhile Warbeck issued a proclamation in the name of "Richard IV., King of England and France," in which he narrated his escape from the Tower, offered a reward of £1,000 for the head of "*Henry Tydder the false usurper*," and condemned Henry for putting to death his true subjects, and for governing England with the aid of Bishop Fox, and "*other such caitiffs and villains born.*" But no one joined his standard, and the Scots, fearing a pitched battle, laid waste Northumberland with ruthless severity, and then retreated to their homes, richly laden with booty.

(5) **Rebellion in Cornwall.** To raise an army to protect the North of England from further invasions of the Scots, Henry called a Parliament, which granted him a subsidy of £120,000. The people of Cornwall resolutely resisted this tax, alleging that they were not liable to pay taxes, "*for a little stir of the Scots soon blown over.*" Having chosen one **Flammock**, an attorney, and **Joseph**, a blacksmith, as leaders, they flew to arms, and to the number of 16,000 men marched on London, to demand of the King the punishment of Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Grey, who were supposed to be the originators of the odious tax. Advancing to Wells, **Lord Audley** placed himself at their head, and led them to **Blackheath**, where they suffered a terrible defeat from the royal forces under Henry in person, and 2,000 of them were slain. Lord Audley, Flammock and Joseph were captured, the former perished on the scaffold, the two latter were hanged, and their followers, with somewhat unusual

lenity on the part of Henry, were pardoned and returned to their homes.

NOTE.—Meanwhile James had again crossed the border, and was ravaging the country as far as the Tees, but was met by the Earl of Surrey, and driven back into Scotland. This defeat, and the prospect of his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. (see page 14) induced James to conclude a treaty with England. He saw, moreover, that Warbeck's presence was becoming a source of inconvenience to him, and so he provided him with a few ships, and a small body of men, and sent him over to Ireland.

(6) **Warbeck lands in Cornwall.** The disturbed state of Cornwall seemed to offer special advantages to an invader, and so Warbeck landed at **Whitsand Bay**. Leaving his wife at St. Michael's Mount, he marched by way of Bodmin, and, by the time he reached **Exeter**, his troops had swelled to the number of 6,000 men. Baffled in his attacks on that city, he marched to **Taunton**, but the sight of the royal troops, and the news of the defeat at Blackheath damped his courage, and he fled by night with sixty trusty followers, and took refuge in the **Abbey of Beaulieu**, in Hampshire. The rebels at once submitted, a few were hanged, and the rest punished with heavy fines. The Lady Catherine Gordon surrendered herself to Henry, who, touched by her faithfulness and beauty, sent her to his court, and she became lady-in-waiting to the Queen.

(7) **Warbeck and Warwick are executed.** On receiving a promise that his life should be spared, Warbeck gave himself up, and after being paraded through the streets of London in a kind of mock triumph, he made a public confession of his imposture, "standing in the stocks," both in Westminster Hall and at Cheapside. He was retained at Court with a certain amount of liberty, but on attempting to escape was apprehended and committed to the Tower. Here he made the acquaintance of the unfortunate **Earl of Warwick**, and with him entered into a plan to seize the Tower, and dethrone the King, but the plot was discovered, and both were tried, condemned and executed.

NOTE 1.—It is generally believed that Warwick was executed, because Henry was at this time negotiating a marriage between his eldest son, Prince Arthur, and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, who would not consent to the union "as

*long as a doubtful drop of royal blood remained in England."*  
 At a later period, when Catherine heard that Henry VIII. had determined to divorce her, she is reported to have said, "that it was a judgment of God, for her marriage with Prince Arthur had been made in blood."

NOTE 2.—It is worthy of notice "that as long as Warwick lived, pretenders to the Crown rapidly succeeded each other, after his execution Henry was permitted to reign without molestation."

### SECTION III.—RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.

1. **War with France.** (1) **Cause.** Francis, Duke of Brittany was old, and had no male heir, and **Charles VIII.** of France, **Maximilian**, king of the Romans, and the **Duke of Orleans**, all hoped to succeed to his dominions. In 1487 Charles invaded Brittany, and Francis appealed for assistance to Henry, who could not well refuse his request, as he had found protection at the court of Francis during his exile. Assistance was promised, and Parliament granted a subsidy, but Henry's parsimonious character rendered him so averse to war, that the assistance was never given.

NOTE.—**Rebellion in Yorkshire.** Meanwhile the people of Yorkshire and Durham refused to pay their part of the subsidy, took up arms under **Sir George Egremont** and **John à Chamber**, and murdered the Earl of Northumberland, who was appointed to collect the tax. The insurrection, however, was quickly suppressed by the Earl of Surrey. Egremont escaped, but John à Chamber and many of his followers were hanged.

(2) **Henry sends assistance to Brittany ; Battles of St. Aubin and Dixmude.** At the disastrous battle of **St. Aubin** Charles defeated the Bretons, and shortly afterwards Francis died, leaving his dominions to his daughter Anne, whereupon the French troops overran the greater part of the Duchy. The news of this injustice raised the greatest indignation in England, and Parliament immediately granted a handsome subsidy. Henry was at last compelled to send two bodies of troops—one under **Sir Willoughby de Brooke** to assist Anne, the other under **Lords Daubeney** and **Morley** to aid Maximilian. The former expedition proved unsuccessful, the latter defeated the French at **Dixmude**, but the victory was stained with the most barbarous cruelty, for the English would give no quarter in revenge for the death of their leader, "the gentle

young knight, the Lord Morley," and so 8,000 of the enemy were ruthlessly slain. The result of this battle was that a peace was concluded between Charles, Maximilian and Anne.

(3) **Anne marries Charles and Brittany is annexed to France.** In 1491 Charles renewed the war, and having closely invested **Rennes**, where the Duchess resided, compelled her to agree to a treaty, in which she promised to marry him. The nuptials were celebrated at Langey and Brittany was finally annexed to the French crown.

Maximilian's disappointment and rage knew no bounds. He had lost a wife and a principality, while his daughter, who had been betrothed to Charles, had lost a husband. The English Parliament was again loud in its clamours for war; large sums of money were raised by the illegal practice of benevolences, and a splendid and efficient army of 25,000 men crossed the Channel, and sat down before Boulogne. But all these warlike preparations meant nothing. In less than a week an arrangement known as the **Treaty of Etaples**, and chiefly relating to pecuniary matters, was made with Charles, by which it was agreed—(a) That Charles should pay Henry £149,000 to cover the expenses of the war, and as arrears of the pension secured to the late King Edward IV. by the Treaty of Pecquigny; (b) That the pretender, Warbeck, should withdraw from the French dominions.

By this treaty Henry, as Bacon justly remarks, "*made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace.*" It was highly displeasing to the English nation; many of the nobles and knights had almost ruined themselves, either by borrowing money, or selling their estates to enable them to take part in the "expected conquest of France."

2. **Relations with Scotland (1) Under James III.** When Henry ascended the throne, he was anxious to be on friendly terms with Scotland, and James III. also cherished a liking for the English King, and sent a deputation to assist at his coronation. To cement the friendship, a matrimonial alliance was arranged between the two royal families by **Fox, Bishop of Durham**, by which—(a) James was to marry Elizabeth, the Queen-dowager; (b) his two sons were to marry two of



her daughters. The project, however, was frustrated in Scotland by the Anti-English nobles under **Albany**, who set up the claims of James's young son, a boy of thirteen, against his father. Civil war ensued, and the King met the rebellious barons at **Sauchie Burn**, where he was defeated, and afterwards foully murdered at **Beaton Mill**, whither he had fled after the battle.

(2) **Under James IV.** Although James IV. was opposed to an alliance with England, and assisted Warbeck in his attempt to overthrow Henry, yet in 1495 Henry tried to arrange a marriage between the new King and his daughter Margaret. Two years later a truce of seven years' duration was concluded, mainly by the instrumentality of Pedro Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, and in consequence Warbeck was compelled to leave Scotland. The marriage arrangements were then completed, and in 1503 the princess Margaret was conducted to Scotland by a numerous retinue of lords and ladies, and the marriage ceremony consummated.

NOTE.—Henry's counsellors objected to the match on the ground that, in the case of a failure of Henry's heirs in the male line, England would become subject to Scotland, but Henry shrewdly remarked that there would be no fear of that, as the "*greater kingdom would draw the less.*"

3. **Relations with Spain.** France was gradually becoming one of the first nations in Europe, and using her utmost endeavours to annex some of the Italian States to her dominions. Ferdinand of Spain and Philip, Archduke of Austria, who had married Ferdinand's daughter, Joanna, were anxious to oppose the ambitious designs of France, and to carry out their object sought the alliance of Henry. Accordingly a marriage was arranged between **Arthur, Prince of Wales**, and **Catherine**, fourth daughter of Ferdinand, but unfortunately the Prince, a youth of the greatest promise, died in the fourth month after his marriage. Ferdinand then procured the necessary dispensation from the Pope, that Catherine should marry Henry, the second son of Henry VII., but the marriage did not take place till six years afterwards.

4. **Relations with the Archduke Philip.** In 1506 the Archduke Philip, while on his way to Spain, was driven by

stress of weather into Weymouth. Henry invited him to his court, and although he treated him with the honour and courtesy due to his rank, he would not let him depart, till he had promised—(1) That he would surrender **Edmund de la Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, the Yorkist refugee, who was then staying in Flanders; (2) That he would sign a commercial treaty, which was so much to the advantage of the English and the disadvantage of the Flemings that the latter called it the **Malus Intercursus**; (3) That he would consent to a marriage alliance between his son Charles and Henry's daughter, Mary, a scheme which afterwards fell through.

Philip agreed to surrender Suffolk on condition that his life should be spared. Suffolk was sent a prisoner to the Tower, and Henry kept his promise, but recommended his son Henry VIII. to put him to death. He was executed seven years afterwards, in 1513.

5. **Affairs in Ireland.** Henry adopted a conciliatory policy towards Ireland, although that country had twice shown its devotion to the House of York in the rebellions of Simnel and Warbeck. In fact the country was so prone to revolt on the least occasion, that Henry once remarked, that "*the Irish would crown apes for kings.*" He had enlisted the favour and influence of the **Earl of Kildare**, a powerful chief, and the leader of the Fitzgeralds or Geraldines, by making him Lord Deputy, and giving him full control over the other chiefs. Kildare, however, proved a very troublesome official, and **Sir Edward Poynings**, who had been appointed Henry's deputy in Ireland, sent him over to England to be tried, but when someone brought a long list of charges against him, and finished by saying, "*that all Ireland could not rule the Earl of Kildare,*" the King replied, "*then the Earl of Kildare shall rule all Ireland.*" The Earl was liberated, and sent back to Ireland on condition that he should not support any pretender to the English throne.

In 1495 **Poynings' Law** was passed, which did much towards restoring peace in the country. It enacted—(a) That no Irish Parliament should be summoned in Ireland, and no bill brought forward without the consent of the English Parliament; (b) That all laws passed by the English Parliament should be of binding force in Ireland;

(c) That the "Laws of Sanctuary" made by Richard, Duke of York, in the time of Henry VI., allowing any political offender to take refuge in Ireland, should be abolished.

6. **Henry's Death and Character.** Henry VII. was a wise and prudent King, but unpopular with his subjects. Living as he did in the midst of plots and conspiracies, he was naturally silent, suspicious, and reserved, a complete master of intrigue, and thoroughly selfish in thought and act. He possessed a strong and unbending will, had some liking for art and letters, and was in a way religious. In his negotiations with foreign powers he preferred diplomacy to force of arms. As a proof of his wisdom and ability he left behind him a *kingdom* restored to peace and order, and a *restless nobility* tamed and reduced to obedience, and handed down his *throne* as a secure possession to his son. He was just the King that England needed to put an end to all the disquietude and disorder, which naturally followed the Wars of the Roses. His ruling passion was an inordinate love of money. No king of England had ever accumulated such an immense hoard of wealth, as he had heaped together in secret places, safely kept under lock and key. "Although economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of wealth, on occasions of great ceremony he displayed the magnificence of a great monarch;" he advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable trade, and fitted out a ship at his own expense to accompany Sebastian Cabot on his voyage, which resulted in his discovery of Labrador. During his last illness, the recollection of his oppression seems to have preyed on his mind, and in his will he ordered restitution to be made to all those whom he had wronged.
7. **Henry's means of raising money.** Henry raised money—(1) By **subsidies**, *i.e.* grants of money made by Parliament, and levied on all men's property; (2) By **benevolences** or **forced loans**. These were nominally "free gifts" made by the rich to the King, but in reality a "tax," because those from whom they were demanded dared not refuse to pay. They were first introduced by Edward IV. on the occasion of his war with France, and people preferred to give benevolences rather than be taxed by Parliament, but afterwards the practice proved an intolerable grievance.



Richard III. had passed an act abolishing benevolences, but Henry VII. revived the practice, excusing his conduct on the ground that Richard III.'s statute was invalid, because he himself was a usurper.

NOTE.—In collecting benevolences Henry was assisted by **Archbishop Morton**, who adopted a novel and ingenious device, called "**Morton's fork.**" If a man was known to be economical or parsimonious in his mode of living, he was told that he must have saved money, and therefore could well afford to give something to the King; if, on the other hand, he lived extravagantly or in good style, he was told that he could well afford to give something to the King, and spend less on himself.

(3) By **fin**es inflicted by the **Star Chamber**. Obsolete penal laws were revived, and fines were exacted from those who broke them. Delinquents had to pay for the privilege of being tried, or for being pardoned. Jurymen were fined for bringing in erroneous verdicts. Corporations and guilds had to pay enormous sums for the maintenance of their ancient rights. Hosts of informers called by the people "*promoters*" and "*questmongers*," sought out those who broke the laws and brought them to trial before the Court of Star Chamber.

As Henry grew older his passion for hoarding money increased. In the latter part of his reign his two most notorious financial agents were **Robert Dudley** and **Richard Empson**. They were intensely hated by the people, who called them "*horse-leeches*" and "*skin-shearers*," and Henry was quite contented that they should bear the unpopularity, which otherwise must have fallen on himself. There were very few nobles or rich merchants "*who had escaped from being ground in the Empson and Dudley mills.*"

NOTE.—By the end of his reign Henry had amassed the enormous sum of £1,800,000, equal to about £16,000,000 of our present money, most of which had been accumulated by injustice and oppression. Still the people preferred the despotism of one ruler to the despotism of many, and since Henry had given them peace and order, they did not mind paying dearly for it.

8. **Maritime Enterprise and Geographical Discoveries.** Henry's reign is remarkable for the success which crowned the attempts of navigators to extend geographical knowledge. (a) The greatest event in the history of these attempts is the discovery of the **West Indies** by **Christopher Columbus**,

a native of Genoa, in 1492. The cruelty, robbery and extortion of pirates and robbers, to which merchants and traders were subject in their passage to India by the "overland route," induced navigators to seek a new road to India and the East by sea. First and foremost among these navigators stands Columbus. Baffled in his first appeal to the Court of Spain for aid, Columbus had sent his brother, Bartholomew, to England to ask assistance from Henry. Bartholomew was favourably received by the English King, and was on his way to invite his brother to England, when he was seized, and detained by pirates. Meanwhile, Columbus had obtained a few ships from Ferdinand and Isabella, and had started on his perilous voyage across the Atlantic, which resulted in the discovery of the Bahamas.

(b) To English enterprise, however, is due the honour of discovering the mainland of America. In 1497 **John Cabot**, an Italian in the pay of Henry VII., sailed from Bristol in a vessel manned by English sailors, discovered the coast of Labrador, and sailed southward to Florida. (See page 282.)

(c) In 1499 **Americus Vespuccius**, a native of Florence, explored the coast of South America and gave his name to the New World, and before Henry's death the greater part of the Eastern Coast of North and South America had been examined by English, Spanish, or Portuguese navigators.

NOTE.—In 1497 **Vasco de Gama**, a Portuguese, sailed from Lisbon, doubled the "Cape," and found a new route to India by sea.

The **general results** of these geographical discoveries were—(1) The Commerce of Europe, which had for ages been restricted to the Mediterranean and its shores, was now transferred to the Eastern shores of the Atlantic; Venice and Genoa, the great "merchant cities" of the Middle Ages, gradually fell into decay, and the maritime towns of Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Holland, such as Cadiz, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Bristol, London, and Antwerp, became the great trading centres of the World.

(2) The strange stories told by travellers roused the curiosity of Europe, and created a desire for travel and further exploration of unknown countries and seas.

9. **The Renaissance, or the Great Revival of Learning.** This movement began in Italy. Up to the year 1453, Constantinople had been the centre of learning and literature, but in that year the city was taken by the Turks, and many learned Greeks fled into Italy taking with them their precious books and manuscripts, and much of the learning of the ancients. Here they were well received by the Italian scholars, who became most enthusiastic in the pursuit of the New Learning. The movement soon spread into other lands, and its influence was felt in a very remarkable degree in England.

The **Invention of the Art of Printing by moveable types**, instead of from wooden blocks, made books cheaper and more plentiful, and materially assisted the spread of the New Learning.

“The discovery of America, and the new route to India, the Revival of Learning, and the inventions of printing and gunpowder, are the great events which mark the change from mediæval to modern Europe, and their influence began to make itself felt in the reign of Henry VII.” (RANSOME.)

10. **The Law of Entail** was abolished in this reign, *i.e.* the fixing of an estate to some particular line of heirs, none of whom had the power either to sell or bequeath it. Henry's object in allowing the barons to sell their estates, regardless of the “entail,” was to lessen their power.

HENRY VIII., 1509—1547 (38 years).

**Title:** Son of Henry VII.

**Married:**—(1) Catherine of Aragon (*divorced*); (2) Anne Boleyn (*beheaded*); (3) Jane Seymour (*died*); (4) Anne of Cleves (*divorced*); (5) Catherine Howard (*beheaded*); (6) Catherine Parr (*outlived him*).

### SUMMARY OF REIGN.

#### SECTION I.—HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY.

Character and Policy of Henry. His early measures. Execution of Empson and Dudley. Marriage with Catherine of Aragon. Henry joins the Holy League; Siege of Terouenne and Battle of Spurs; Fall of Tournay. War with Scotland and Battle of Flodden Field. Rise and Administration of Wolsey; his rapid advancement, wealth and influence; his policy. Henry plunges into European politics. The Field of the Cloth of Gold. Henry breaks his alliance with Charles and joins Francis.

#### SECTION II.—THE DIVORCE QUESTION AND BREACH WITH ROME.

Henry questions the legality of his marriage with Catherine. Difficulties in the way of a divorce. Wolsey's degradation and death. The question of the Divorce is laid before the Universities of Europe. The work of the Seven Years' Parliament. The Acts of Succession and Supremacy are passed. Fisher and More are executed. The Holy Maid of Kent.

#### SECTION III.—THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

Meaning of the term "Reformation." The Reformation in Europe. Rise and Administration of Thomas Cromwell.

Dissolution of the smaller Monasteries. Trial and Execution of Anne Boleyn. Disturbances following on the Dissolution of the Monasteries; Outbreak in Lincolnshire; the Pilgrimage of Grace. Dissolution of the greater Monasteries. The Six Articles. Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves and the Fall of Cromwell. Cromwell's Aims and Work. Re-action in favour of the Old Religion. Execution of Catherine Howard. Rise of the Protestant Party to power. Execution of Surrey. Death of the King. Settlement of the Succession. War with Scotland and France, and Peace of Boulogne.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

(a) **Statesmen**:—Cardinal Wolsey; Sir Thomas More; Thomas Cromwell.

(b) **Military Commanders**:—Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

(c) **Authors**:—Sir Thomas More; Earl of Surrey.

(d) **Other names**:—Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; William Tyndale, and Miles Coverdale; Robert Aske; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; Cardinal Pole; Countess of Salisbury; Martin Luther.

### LEADING DATES.

Accession of Henry VIII.	. . . . .	1509
Field of the Cloth of Gold	. . . . .	1520
Fall of Wolsey	. . . . .	1529
The Final Separation from Rome	. . . . .	1534
Henry takes the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England	. . . . .	1535
Dissolution of the smaller monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace	. . . . .	1536
Dissolution of the greater monasteries and the Act of the Six Articles	. . . . .	1539
Fall and Execution of Cromwell	. . . . .	1540
Battle of Solway Moss	. . . . .	1542
Death of Henry VIII.	. . . . .	1547

### SECTION I.—HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY.

1. **Character and Policy of Henry.** Henry VIII. came to the



throne with an undisputed right, uniting in his person the claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster. He was handsome, tall and well-proportioned; "*Nature*," declared the Venetian ambassador, "*could not have done more for him.*" He excelled in manly games and athletic exercises, in which his courage and physical strength showed him off to the best advantage. "He was, moreover, a good musician, spoke French, Latin and Spanish fluently, and heard three masses every day."

Henry's personal character presents a strange combination of good and bad qualities. By some writers he is represented as a monster of iniquity, by others as a noble and patriotic sovereign endowed with the highest ability, and desirous of using it for the good of his country. Probably he was neither so bad as his detractors, nor so good as his admirers have portrayed him. In his selfishness, his love of grandeur, his sensuality, and his ruthless cruelty, he resembled his grandfather, Edward IV., but he was unlike that sovereign, in that he was a far-seeing statesman, a zealous student, and an astute politician. He was no mean judge of character; as his subjects often said, "*King Henry knew a man when he saw him.*" He chose his ministers with a wisdom and foresight, which has seldom been equalled, but he used them as mere tools, and could fling them aside or even put them to death without the slightest remorse, when they had served his purpose or ceased to please him. Like all the Tudors, he was fond of popularity. His affable manner and gracious smile completely won the hearts of his subjects, and although he was ever a harsh, cruel, and remorseless sovereign, and in his later years a relentless tyrant, he never altogether lost his subjects' love. Thus it was that the popularity, which he had secured, enabled him to dispense with a standing army, and for thirty-eight years to rule despotically.

In his destruction of the great mediæval Church System, he was but following the lines of his father's home policy, who had completely swept away every vestige of Feudalism; and in effecting a breach with Rome he carried with him the wishes of a great part of the lay population. But he reversed his father's foreign policy of non-intervention in continental matters, and aimed at raising England to that position among the powers of Europe, which she had held in

the 14th century. He was the most absolute sovereign who had ruled England since Edward I. Parliament was wholly subservient to his will. It permitted him to issue proclamations with the force of law, to appoint his successor by will, to cancel all his debts and raise forced loans. No doubt he caused much evil and suffering in his day, but the good, which resulted from his policy, lived after him, and the history of succeeding generations bears the indelible mark of his "iron will and indomitable courage."

## 2. His early measures.

(1) **His ministers.** Henry retained most of his father's well-tried ministers, including Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury as Chancellor, Fox, Bishop of Winchester as Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Ruthal, Bishop of Durham; and among the secular nobles Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, "*a man endowed with great prudence, gravity and constancy,*" as Treasurer.

(2) **Execution of Empson and Dudley.** To satisfy public indignation and at the same time win popularity he caused Empson and Dudley, the two most hated of his father's extortionate agents, to be arrested. A number of cases of extortion was brought against them, all of which collectively, however, did not amount to treason. It was therefore deemed necessary to have recourse to a new charge, viz. that "of attempting to secure the person of the young King on the death of his father, and to possess themselves of the powers of government." On this frivolous and unsubstantiated charge they were found guilty of "*conspiracy against the King,*" and when Parliament met it passed a Bill of Attainder against them, and they both suffered death on Tower Hill.

(3) **Marriage with Catherine of Aragon.** Henry followed his father's line of policy by marrying Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, and widow of his brother Arthur. Although he was only nineteen, and Catherine twenty-five, he was so satisfied with his wife that he declared "*that if he had to choose again he would take her.*" Catherine, too, was perfectly devoted to her husband, and for many years the marriage was a happy one.

## 3. Henry joins the Holy League, 1511. (1) Its object. In

1508 Louis XII. of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and Pope Julius II. formed the "*League of Cambray*" against the wealthy and much envied republic of Venice. In the war, which followed, the French acted with such vigour, that it looked as if they would not only destroy the Venetian state, but become masters of the whole of the Italian Peninsula. Alarmed at the success, which had attended the French arms, the Pope joined the Venetians, and induced Ferdinand and the Emperor Maximilian to form a new league to protect the Papal Dominions against the French, and to drive the invaders out of Italy.

The Pope was also anxious to secure the allegiance of England, and so he promised Henry the title of "*Most Christian King*," hitherto belonging only to the Crown of France, and sent him "*a golden rose perfumed with musk and anointed with oil.*" The vanity of the young monarch was flattered. With a full treasury at his command, and fired with the desire of winning military glory, Henry immediately joined the League and declared war against France.

NOTE.—This League was called the "*Holy League*," because it was under the nominal leadership of the Pope.

(2) **First Campaign. Henry fails in his attempt to conquer Guienne, 1512.** In the first campaign Henry allowed himself to be made the dupe of his father-in-law, Ferdinand. He was persuaded by that wily monarch to attempt the conquest of Guienne, a state in which it was generally supposed there were some English adherents. Accordingly he despatched a body of men under the command of the **Marquis of Dorset**, who landed at Guipuscoa, a district in the north of Spain. The expedition proved a sorry failure. Ferdinand did not send the assistance he had promised, and the "raw and untrained" English troops had so long abstained from war, that they became completely disorganized by disease and mutiny, and compelled their weak and incompetent generals to take them back to England, much to Henry's chagrin and disappointment. Meanwhile Ferdinand had overrun Navarre, and annexed it to his dominions.

NOTE.—In the same year Henry fitted out a naval expedition under Sir Edward Howard, which also proved unsuccessful.



Howard ravaged the French coast and fought an indecisive battle off Brest, but the French fleet made good their retreat into the harbour of that town. Subsequently, in a rash attack on the town itself, Sir Edward was killed.

(3) **Second Campaign. (a) Siege of Terouenne and Battle of Spurs, 1513.** In no way discouraged by the failure of these expeditions, Henry redoubled his efforts, and determined to invade France in person. He crossed to Calais with an army of 25,000 men, and, being joined by his ally **Maximilian**, who volunteered to serve as a lieutenant under the English flag, laid siege to Terouenne. During the siege, the town was relieved by the intrepidity of 800 horsemen, who, laden with powder and provisions, dashed through the enemy's lines, threw down their burdens at the gate of the city, and then fled and reached a place of safety, before the English could intercept their retreat.

The success, which had attended the French on this occasion, encouraged them to make a second attempt on a larger scale. A body of 10,000 horsemen, consisting of veteran soldiers, who had won a reputation for superior courage and discipline in the Italian campaigns, now advanced to relieve the town. But at the first sight of a very inferior troop of English and German horse under Maximilian, the whole body of French cavalry was seized by so unaccountable a panic, that they fled in headlong confusion, while their officers, in attempting to rally the fugitives, were ignominiously taken prisoners. This curious panic was called by the French the "Battle of the Spurs," because they said "*they had made more use of their spurs on that day than of their swords.*" After an ineffectual attempt on the part of the besieged to break through the enemy's trenches, the town surrendered.

(b) **Fall of Tournay and end of the campaign.** The campaign concluded with the capture of Tournay, the see of which was given to Wolsey; and Henry, satisfied with the scanty glory he had gained, returned to England.

**NOTE.**—In Italy the French won the battle of **Ravenna** (1512), but lost their gallant leader **Gaston de Foix**, and after that disaster they were gradually driven backward by the rapid advance of a brave body of Swiss troops in the pay of the Pope, so that, before the year was out, Julius was able to boast "*that he had chased the barbarians beyond the Alps.*"

4. **War with Scotland, 1513.** Meanwhile war broke out with Scotland. (1) **Cause.** Although James IV. had married Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII., the relations between England and Scotland were of a no very cordial nature, and when Henry proclaimed war against France, the Scots, in pursuance of their old line of policy, made an alliance with France.

(2) **Battle of Flodden Field, 1513.** Utterly disregarding the tears and entreaties of his wife, and the warnings of his council, James raised an army of 50,000 men, crossed the border and ravaged Northumberland. The Queen took the lead in raising and equipping an army to meet the danger, which threatened England from the North. "*You are not so busy with the war in France,*" she wrote to Wolsey, "*as I am encumbered with it in England.*" The chief command was entrusted to **Thomas Howard**, Earl of Surrey, the Lord Treasurer, who hurried northward to meet the Scots. Finding that James had taken up a strong position on **Flodden Edge**, near a river called the Till, he advanced along the valley of that river as far as Twizel Bridge. Here he crossed, and turning his line of march southward, drew up his force on **Flodden Field**. This movement so completely cut off the retreat of the Scots, that they were compelled to give battle. As they descended into the plain "in silence and good order," they were met by the English, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon the memorable battle of Flodden began. On the right the contest was for a time doubtful; in the centre, where Surrey himself held command, the Scottish warriors, being cased in armour and on that account less exposed to the deadly shafts of the English archers, caused the English line to waver, while Stanley, who had charge of the left division, drove back the Highlanders opposed to him in wild disorder, and wheeling sharply round, fell upon that part of the Scottish army, which was successful against Surrey. *This manœuvre decided the issue of the fight.* The Scots were attacked in flank and rear and were easily routed, and the darkness alone allowed a few to escape over the Border. The battle was short, but obstinate and bloody; 10,000 of the Scots lay dead on the field. James himself was among the slain. His body was conveyed to London, where it was

interred with the honour suitable to his rank. Never had Scotland experienced so terrible an overthrow, and for a long time afterwards England was free from Scottish invasions. Howard was rewarded by being made Duke of Norfolk.

(3) **Peace is concluded with Scotland and France.** In 1514, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, who had been appointed Regent during the minority of her son James V., made peace with England. She, however, greatly displeased the Scottish nobles by marrying the Earl of Angus (see Table, page 272), and in 1515 the regency was taken from her and given to the Duke of Albany.

In 1514, the war of the Holy League languished and died out. Henry's allies had gained what they wanted and had withdrawn themselves from the League. Henry, too, having found that it was quite beyond his power to conquer France without the aid of allies, negotiated a treaty with Louis (1514), by which it was arranged that Mary, Henry's youngest sister, a beautiful girl of seventeen, should marry Louis, who was at that time fifty-two years of age. Mary had already fallen in love with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, "a robust and handsome young nobleman," but Henry promised her that, "if she married this time to please him, she should marry next time to please herself." The marriage with Louis was of short duration, for within three months her husband died, owing, it is said, to the 'late hours and high living, which the gay young English Queen persuaded him to adopt.' Mary, however, soon dried her tears, and before she left France, "to make sure that her brother should keep his promise, she married her former lover." (See Table, page 272.)

5. **Rise and Administration of Wolsey.** The man destined to play the most conspicuous part in the history of events during the next fifteen years was Wolsey.

(1) **His rapid advancement.** Wolsey was the son of a wealthy grazier of Ipswich. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and became bursar of his College, and tutor to the sons of the Marquis of Dorset. Fox, Bishop of Winchester introduced him to the notice of Henry VII., and he became a member of the Privy Council. His capacity for business was amazing, and,

although he held no higher office in Henry VIII.'s court than that of Almoner, he soon became one of the most influential of the young King's advisers. The greater part of the management of the French War was entrusted to his care, and when **Tournay** surrendered, and the bishop elect refused to swear fealty to Henry, Wolsey was made Bishop of that city. After this his advancement was most rapid. On the death of Cardinal Bambridge he was raised to the **Archiepiscopal See of York**. In 1515, the Pope made him **Cardinal**, and when Warham resigned the **Chancellorship**, Wolsey was installed in that office. Finally in 1516, he reached the zenith of his power by being made **Papal Legate a latere** (*i.e.* sent from the Pope's side), with authority almost equal to that of the Pontiff himself. For sixteen years, his rule was supreme both in Church and State. "*He is the person,*" wrote the Venetian ambassador, "*who rules both King and kingdom, and transacts all the business, which occupies all the magistrates, officers and councils of Venice.*"

(2) **His wealth and influence.** Wolsey's wealth was enormous and his revenue equalled that of the King. He was in the pay of both Francis and Charles, and the Pope gave him an annuity of 7,500 ducats. His furniture, equipage and dress were of the most gorgeous description; he had a retinue of 800 persons, many of whom belonged to the most distinguished families, and his house became a kind of school of training for the sons of noblemen, who aspired to win civil or military preferments. Hampton Court was built and furnished at his own expense, and presented to Henry; "*the most magnificent present ever given by a subject to a sovereign.*"

His influence over the King was unbounded, and was due in a great measure to the complete knowledge he had of Henry's character, and the assiduous way in which he carried out his wishes. His energy was untiring, and the amount of work he undertook, and got through, surpassed all men's expectations. The trust and confidence, which Henry reposed in him, were boundless, and as long as he pleased the King, and adopted a line of policy which proved successful, and brought no discredit on his royal master, his position was secure.

But when he fell from his high position he had no popularity to support him. The nobles hated him for his pride, his arrogance and insolence; the commonalty, the class from which he had sprung, equally disliked him, and the current literature of the time is full of the most bitter satires upon him.

(3) **His Church policy.** Wolsey's policy towards the Church, was to uphold the Papal authority, and reform the abuses in the discipline of the Church. No man saw clearer than he did the great storm, which was gathering over the Church and threatening its destruction, and no one was more desirous that the reforms so much needed in the Church, should be brought about by its own efforts, rather than by compulsion and external violence. He even violated the Statute of Præmunire in accepting the Legatine authority, so that he might have absolute control over the monasteries, and reform the abuses which existed in them. As Papal Legate, he abolished many of the smaller poverty-stricken monasteries, which were either useless or badly conducted, and devoted their incomes to the foundation of schools and colleges.

NOTE.—Wolsey was a bountiful patron of learning. He was "himself a scholar, and a ripe and good one," and obtained at his own expense rare and valuable manuscripts from foreign courts and universities for transcription. He showered preferment on native scholars and invited foreigners eminent for their learning to teach in the English Universities. At Oxford he endowed several lectureships, and laid the foundation of the Great Cardinal's College, afterwards called Christ Church, a "splendid monument of his architectural taste and magnificence." He also built and endowed a college in his native town Ipswich, on the model of Winchester College, to serve as a school to supply his Oxford foundation with students. In this way he hoped to make the clergy more energetic, better educated, and more fitted for their spiritual duties.

(4) **His foreign policy.** The general aim of Wolsey's foreign policy was *the maintenance of peace*. One of the great results of this policy was, that it enabled England to come out of her isolated position, and become an important factor in the political system of Europe.

*Wolsey was the first statesman who recognized the importance of maintaining the "balance of power" in Europe.*



**NOTE.**—By maintaining the balance of power is meant that, if one state should increase its power to such an extent as to threaten the existence or independence of another state, a coalition of the other states might be formed to protect the state so threatened.

## 6. Henry plunges into European politics.

(1) **Charles V. of Spain is elected Emperor of Germany.** In 1519 Maximilian died, and there appeared three candidates for the Imperial Crown. (a) **Charles V. of Spain**, grandson of the Emperor Maximilian on his father's side, and grandson of Ferdinand, King of Aragon on his mother's side. He was already ruler of the Netherlands and King of Naples and Sicily, and being the head of the house of Austria, and best able to defend the Empire against the Turks, he had very strong claims to the Imperial Crown. (b) **Francis I. of France**, who had no real claim; (c) **Henry VIII.**, who was elated by the offer of the crown, which Maximilian had made him some time previously, but when he found that he had no chance of being successful he withdrew from the contest. Ultimately the matter was settled by the election of Charles as Emperor, with the title of Charles V.

Charles was now ruler of Spain, Austria, Naples, Sicily and the Netherlands, and the most powerful sovereign in Europe. It was certain that a struggle for supremacy would soon begin between him and Francis, and as all the subordinate princes of Europe had ranged themselves on one side or the other, both sovereigns were anxious to secure the friendship and alliance of a powerful monarch like Henry.

**NOTE.**—The right of election to the Imperial Crown was vested in seven persons, and the successful candidate claimed the honour of being crowned by the Pope, and of being regarded as the successor of the Roman Emperor of the West.

(2) **Meeting of Francis and Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.** Francis at once solicited an interview with Henry at Calais, but Charles no sooner heard of the proposed interview, than he forestalled Francis by meeting the English King at Canterbury, just before he started for Calais, and there gained his friendship and alliance. He easily won over Wolsey, by a promise to assist him in gaining the Papal Chair. Meanwhile Francis was preparing for Henry's reception. At **Guines**, near Calais, 1,000 work-

men were engaged for several weeks in erecting a costly and magnificent palace of wood-work for the accommodation of Henry, his Queen, and their attendants. All that money and art could do was lavished on the edifice; the furniture was of the most costly description, the ceilings were covered with silk, and the walls with cloth of arras. Near the town of Ardes a building of similar description was erected for the accommodation of Francis. Three weeks were spent by the two Sovereigns in visits of state, tournaments, feats of arms and banquets. Yet, beneath all these elaborate displays of friendship, there lurked mutual jealousy and mistrust, which practically kept the two monarchs apart, and hindered the transaction of any real business. Francis was, however, under the impression that he had gained the friendship and confidence of Henry.

NOTE.—The magnificence displayed at this meeting gained for it the name of the "*Field of the Cloth of Gold*." The French noblemen were clad in such costly garments, that they were said "to have had their estates on their backs."

(3) **Henry meets Charles at Gravelines.** No sooner had Henry left Francis, than he met Charles, in a less ostentatious fashion, at **Gravelines**, and conducted him to Calais, and whatever good impression had been made on Henry's mind at the "*Field of the Cloth of Gold*" by Francis, was entirely swept away.

(4) **Wolsey acts as arbitrator between Charles and Francis.** The political rivalry between Charles and Francis soon broke out into open hostilities, and Francis led an army over the Pyrenees into Spain. Both sovereigns laid their complaints before Henry, who pretended to be neutral, and sent Wolsey to Calais to meet the ambassadors of both parties and act as arbitrator in negotiating peace. His policy was to maintain a "balance" between the two, so as to prevent either of them from becoming too powerful. The terms proposed by Charles were indignantly rejected by Francis, and so the congress broke up without effecting anything.

Wolsey, following his master's instructions, met the Emperor at Bruges, and concluded an alliance with him against France, stipulating (1) that both Henry and Charles should invade the French dominions; (2) that the projected

marriage between the Dauphin and Mary, daughter of Henry, should be set aside and that she should marry the Emperor.

NOTE 1.—In pursuance of the terms of this treaty, Henry, in 1522 and in the following year, made two unsuccessful invasions of France, and Francis retaliated by attempting to excite dissatisfaction in Ireland and Scotland against England, but both attempts were fruitless.

NOTE 2.—One reason why the war languished was the want of money. Between the years 1515 and 1523 no Parliament had been summoned, and money had been raised by means of forced loans and benevolences. In 1523 Henry summoned a Parliament, of which Sir Thomas More was the Speaker. Wolsey went down to the House, thinking to overawe the members by his ecclesiastical pomp and grandeur. He asked for the enormous and unprecedented grant of four shillings in the pound, amounting to £800,000, a sum equal to £12,000,000 of our money, but finding that no one replied to his request, he appealed to the Speaker for an explanation. Falling on his knees, More told him “that according to their ancient liberties, they were not bound to give an answer, and that it were better for him to withdraw.” In high chagrin, Wolsey left the House, and it was only after an angry debate, which lasted sixteen days, that Parliament voted less than half of the original sum demanded. The King was so highly displeased that he did not call a Parliament for the next five years.

(5) **Henry breaks his alliance with Charles and joins Francis.** The reason of this change of policy was:—The army of Charles had invaded France and laid siege to Marseilles, and to avenge this insult Francis poured his troops over Mont Cenis into Italy, captured Milan and invested **Pavia**. Near the walls of this town, however, he suffered a terrible overthrow; almost the whole of his army was either cut to pieces or drowned in crossing the river Po, while he himself fell into the hands of the victors, and was sent a captive to Spain. As he himself said “*he had lost everything but his honour.*”

NOTE.—The overthrow of the French army at Pavia and imprisonment of Francis seemed to offer to Henry a splendid opportunity of renewing the old alliance with Charles and of conquering France. To raise money for the war Wolsey had recourse to an expedient called the “*Amicable Loan.*” He sent round commissioners to call upon all men to pay a sixth part of their substance in support of the King’s project of invading France in person.

The citizens of London were forced to obedience by his threats. “The King must go like a Prince,” said he, “which cannot



be without your aid. Beware, therefore, and resist not ; otherwise it may fortune to cost some their heads." The resistance in Norfolk and Suffolk was of a most determined character, and the people "began to rage and assemble themselves in companies." When the Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent against the insurgents, asked the name of their captain, they replied that "his name was Poverty, and that he and his cousin Necessity had brought them to this doing." The Duke, however, was so convinced of the reasonableness of their complaints, that he procured from Henry a relaxation of the odious tax, but the King, who was ever ready to make scapegoats of his ministers, and heap public indignation upon their heads, when their policy proved unsuccessful, threw all the blame on his minister and even dismissed him from the office of Chancellor.

In 1525 Henry concluded a treaty with France. His friendship with the Emperor had somewhat cooled, since the latter had rejected his plan for a united French invasion. Wolsey, too, had begun to recognize the danger of allowing a powerful and ambitious sovereign like Charles to predominate in Europe. He had, moreover, private reasons for breaking with the Emperor, in that he had twice disappointed him in the hope of gaining the Popedom. With some difficulty he persuaded his royal master to enter into an alliance with France, and in 1527, the treaty of 1525 was renewed between Henry and the mother of Francis, who was acting as Regent for her son.

Meanwhile Francis had recovered his liberty by the **Treaty of Madrid** (1526), promising to cede the fair provinces of Burgundy to the Emperor's dominions, a promise, which he afterwards declared was not binding, because it had been made without the consent of his subjects. The following year, the war was renewed between Francis and Charles, and the Italian princes, with the Pope as their head, jealous of Charles's increasing power, formed an alliance with Francis. Rome was, however, stormed by the Imperial forces under the Duke of Bourbon, a great French noble, who had been provoked by the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of Francis, and had joined Charles. The Duke was killed in the assault, but the Pope was taken prisoner, and shut up in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome, while the city itself was given up to all the violence and brutality of a licentious soldiery. Henry felt it was his duty as a true son of the Church to assist Francis and his allies in expelling the Imperialists from Italy, set the Pope at liberty, and uphold the

Papal influence and authority. A second treaty was therefore concluded between Henry and Francis by which it was agreed—(1) That the two monarchs should join their forces, drive the Imperialists out of Italy, and set the Pope at liberty; (2) That Henry should renounce all claims to the throne of France; (3) That Francis and his successors should pay 50,000 crowns a year to Henry and his successors.

NOTE.—This treaty had the effect of making Wolsey very unpopular with the English nobles, who hated any alliance with France as the old enemy of England.

## SECTION II.—THE DIVORCE QUESTION AND BREACH WITH ROME.

- i. Henry questions the legality of his marriage with Catherine and desires a divorce.

(a) Meanwhile a momentous question was coming to the front, which ultimately produced a great religious revolution in England. For some time past Henry had had scruples of conscience about the legality of his marriage with Catherine, his brother Arthur's widow. On Arthur's death he had been affianced to Catherine, and the necessary dispensation for the marriage had been obtained from the Pope, and in the first year of his reign Henry married her. In some respects, however, the marriage was not a very judicious one. Catherine was six years his senior, and had no personal attractions, and as she advanced in years her health broke down, and she grew distasteful to her husband. They had now been married eighteen years, and all their children had died except a delicate girl, the princess Mary, and Henry is said to have regarded the death of his children as a judgment from God for his marrying Catherine.

(b) Moreover, Henry was the only surviving male representative of the house of Tudor, and was morbidly anxious that a son should succeed him. If he died without a male heir, no one doubted but that the gravest difficulties would arise about the succession, and probably civil war ensue. It was therefore a matter of the highest importance to Henry and his council, that the line of succession should be undisputed, so as to secure the future peace of England.

NOTE.—Of the many persons who, besides the Princess Mary, had a right to the throne, three had already been removed, Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, executed by Henry in 1513, and Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded in 1521. Stafford's only fault was that, being descended from Thomas of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III., he had uttered some unguarded words intimating "*that if the King should die he would himself come to the throne.*" But Henry feared the old nobles quite as much as his father, and so Buckingham was tried for treason, found guilty and executed. His vast estates were parcelled out among the Court favourites. The third person, who had a right to the throne, was Richard de la Pole, brother of Edmund Pole, but he had perished at the battle of Pavia, 1525. There still remained however (1) James V. of Scotland, a lad of thirteen, and son of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.; (2) Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence; and (3) Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, grandson of Edward IV. (See Table, page 273.)

(c) Moreover, the marriage with Catherine had in the first place been arranged by Henry VII. with a view to cement an alliance with Spain, but as Henry VIII. had now sided with Francis against Charles, such an alliance was deemed no longer necessary.

(d) But the root of the whole matter was, that the selfish King had grown tired of Catherine and become desperately enamoured of Anne Boleyn, a gay young lady of Catherine's court, and, utterly disregarding the respect and duty he owed his wife, he was resolved to obtain a divorce, which would enable him to marry Anne.

2. **Difficulties in the way of a divorce.** Wolsey saw the difficulties, which lay in the way, and "*spent hours on his knees*" begging the King to desist from his purpose. He had hoped that if Henry was divorced from Catherine, he would marry some lady of the royal house of France, and so strengthen the recent French alliance. "*If,*" said he, "*I could see the King well married, and the Church reformed I should die happy.*" But Henry would allow no obstacle to stand between himself and the realization of his wishes, and so he was resolved to obtain the Pope's consent to a divorce from Catherine. Under ordinary circumstances such a consent would not probably have been difficult to obtain; but, unfortunately for Henry, the Pontiff was at this very time a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor Charles, Catherine's nephew, who fiercely upheld his aunt's cause, and was firmly resolved that

she should not be divorced. Clement could not, therefore, grant Henry's request without seriously offending the Emperor. In 1527 Henry made a formal appeal to the Pope for a divorce, and in the following year Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, was sent to Rome to induce the Pope to appoint Legates to investigate the case. Clement, anxious to please all parties, adopted a temporizing policy. He appointed two Cardinals, Wolsey and Campeggio, the Italian Bishop of Salisbury, to open a commission of enquiry on the question.

When the Cardinals' court met in London, both King and Queen were summoned to appear in person. The King answered to his name when called, but the Queen, instead of answering to hers, threw herself in tears at Henry's feet, and made a most pathetic appeal to his mercy. She declared "that she had been his faithful wife for twenty years and had done nothing that made her worthy to be put to public shame." She then left the court, and refused to appear again, demanding that the case should be tried by the Pope himself. The trial was prolonged for two months longer. Every day the King was anxiously waiting for a verdict in his favour, when suddenly to his great surprise, the Pope annulled all the proceedings in England, and ordered the case to be transferred to Rome. *This step proved Wolsey's ruin.*

3. **Wolsey's Degradation and Death, 1529.** Henry was furious and vented all his anger on his faithful minister. He banished him from Court, and gave his place at the Council to his personal enemy, the Duke of Norfolk. He caused him to be arraigned under the Statute of Præmunire, the charge being "that without the royal leave he had procured bulls from Rome, investing him with the powers of Legate." His sentence was that he should be put out of the King's protection, and all his lands and goods forfeited, and his person committed to custody. "Nothing could be more unjust than this persecution of the Cardinal, since he had obtained the powers of Legate at the special request of the King." As a further degradation, all his offices were taken from him, his enormous personal property and estates confiscated, and the College he had founded at Ipswich sold, and the money appropriated for the King's use.

Wolsey was prostrate at the blow. He made a most abject appeal to the King's mercy, confessing his guilt in acting as Legate and offering to give up everything, if the King would cease from his displeasure. "*His face,*" wrote the French ambassador, "*is dwindled to half its size. His misery is such, that even his enemies cannot help pitying him.*" Subsequently he received the King's pardon, and was allowed to withdraw to his Archbishopric of York, the only one dignity he was suffered to retain. Cromwell, his private secretary, made several attempts to reinstate his master in royal favour, but to no purpose. Wolsey had made many enemies by his arrogance and high-handed authority, and now that he had lost Henry's favour, he had no one to support him. The old nobility, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, had long hated him most bitterly, many of the lay members of the Privy Council were strongly opposed to him, and Anne Boleyn, who was connected by marriage with the Howard family, had her own reasons for disliking him, since she imputed to him the failure of her hopes to become Queen.

The popularity, which he won in his diocese of York by his affable manners and his hospitality, only served to excite the jealousy of his old political rivals, who were bent on his ruin. Having indiscreetly opened communications with the French ambassador, he was arrested by the King's order, and taken to London to answer the charge of high treason. But the fatigues of the journey, coupled with the extreme anxiety of his mind, brought on a disorder, and in a dying state he reached Leicester Abbey. As he entered the gate, he said feebly to the Abbot, "*Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you.*" He was immediately carried to his bed, and died the next day. His last words were, "*If I had served my God as diligently as I have served my King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains,*"—words which form the best comment on the life and character of so remarkable a man.

Wolsey was the last of the great ecclesiastics, who have ruled England. *His fall was the first blow struck by Henry against the Papacy.*



4. **Cranmer suggests that the Question of the Divorce should be laid before the Universities of Europe.** Henry still clung to the hope that the Pope would give a decision in his favour. But while the question was still undecided, **Dr. Thomas Cranmer** is said to have suggested to Gardiner, the Secretary of State, that the most expeditious way of settling the difficulty was to lay the question of the validity of the King's marriage before the Universities and learned men of Europe. The suggestion put the matter of the Divorce in a new light; it raised the important question, "whether the Pope had a right to grant a dispensation for the marriage at all." Henry was delighted with the idea, and Cranmer was at once commissioned to go round and collect the various opinions.

In obtaining the opinions of the Universities, both Henry and Charles resorted to bribery and political pressure. In England and in France generally, where Henry's influence was paramount, a declaration was wrung from the reluctant theologians that the marriage was illegal from the very first. Henry himself overawed the theologians of Oxford and Cambridge by telling them "*that they had better not stir up a hornet's nest.*" In the countries under the sway of the Emperor, the lawyers and theologians of the Universities declared that the marriage was valid.

5. **The Work of the Seven Years' Parliament, 1529-1536.** This Parliament was, in some respects, one of the most remarkable Parliaments ever summoned. It passed many important acts, *which culminated in bringing about a separation of the English Church from the Roman Catholic Church.* Henry summoned it, because he saw he would have a better chance of carrying out his schemes, if he made a show at least of consulting the people. He took good care, however, to pack the Parliament with his servants and dependents. His first object was to obtain a divorce from Catherine, and so he prevailed upon the obsequious members to pass a series of acts curtailing the privileges of the clergy and attacking the papal authority in England, in the hope that the Pope would ultimately be frightened into giving him a divorce.

(1) In 1529 a Bill, originating with Sir Thomas More, was passed, abolishing excessive probate duties, and burial fees,

forbidding the clergy to follow any profession except their own, enforcing residence, and forbidding pluralities.

(2) In 1531 Henry suddenly charged the whole of the Clergy with a breach of the Statute of Præmunire, for recognizing Wolsey as Papal Legate without the royal permission. A more monstrous charge never was made, because Wolsey had received the authority with Henry's full permission, and during the time that he had exercised the authority of Papal Legate, there was not a priest in England, who dared oppose him. Under the Statute of Præmunire, the Clergy were liable to be deprived of all their wealth, and rather than suffer this penalty, they offered to pay the King an enormous fine of £118,000, a sum equivalent to about £1,000,000 of our money. Even then the King refused to grant the pardon, unless they would acknowledge him as "Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England, as far as the law of Christ would allow,"—a concession, to which they very reluctantly agreed. *This was the first doubt raised about the Papal authority in England.* Henry did not at the time contemplate breaking with Rome, but he was determined that the civil power should be superior to that of the ecclesiastical in England.

(3) This prosecution was followed by an act reforming the spiritual courts, enforcing the old Statute of Mortmain, which forbade any one giving lands to the Church, limiting the right of claiming "Benefit of Clergy," by which laymen "who could read," were in virtue of that qualification tried for their wrong doings in the ecclesiastical courts, and punished with a far greater leniency than they would have experienced had they been tried in the King's Courts (1532).

(4) In 1533 the **Act of Appeals** was passed, forbidding any appeals from the Archbishop's court to that of Rome, and declaring the sufficiency of the English Church to settle its own spiritual questions. This act was intended to prevent Queen Catherine from appealing from any ecclesiastical court, which might be held in England, to the court of Rome. When Henry saw that there was no hope of obtaining a favourable decision from the Pope, he determined to take the matter in his own hands. He ordered Cranmer, who had just been made Archbishop of Canterbury



(1533), to hold a court at **Dunstable**. Before this Court Catherine was ordered to appear, but she refused, denying its jurisdiction. A sentence of divorce was therefore passed against her, which according to the "Act of Appeals" was final. Even before the decision was announced Henry had secretly married **Anne Boleyn**, and to enlist the feelings of the people on the side of the new Queen, she was publicly crowned amidst the most magnificent pomp and splendour. The unhappy Catherine retired into privacy at Kimbolton, where she died in 1536. The Pope immediately declared the marriage with Anne Boleyn invalid, and published a threat of excommunication against Henry.

(5) In 1534 Henry passed through Parliament an act severing one of the strongest bands, which united England and Rome. In 1532 the Clergy had petitioned Henry to be freed from the payment of **Annates** or **First Fruits**, *i.e.* the payment of the first year's income of any ecclesiastical benefice to the Pope, and the Commons had passed a Bill for the abolition of Annates, but for a time Henry refused to sanction it. The payment of Annates was the main contribution, which England sent to Rome, and Henry thought, that an act which threatened to reduce a part of the Pope's income would compel him to give way in the matter of the Divorce. But he was mistaken. The Pope still remained firm, and in 1534 the Bill received the royal assent. It was clear that the breach between England and Rome had now widened to such an extent, as to make a reconciliation between Henry and the Pope well-nigh impossible.

NOTE.—Other important acts followed. (a) All other forms of tribute paid to Rome, such as Peter's Pence, and one-tenth of each year's income of the Bishops and beneficed clergy were forbidden, and reserved for the King's use. (b) The Bishops were to be elected without any interference whatever on the part of the Pope, thus putting an end to the appointment of non-resident Italians to the richest sees. (c) An Act was passed, called the "Submission of the Clergy," by which they gave up the right of meeting in Convocation, and passing laws without the King's consent.

(6) Before the end of the year, 1533, the Princess Elizabeth was born, and to settle the much vexed question of the Succession the **Act of Succession** was passed, declaring—(1) that the King's marriage with Catherine was invalid;

(2) that his marriage with Anne Boleyn was "true, sincere and perfect"; (3) that the succession to the throne should rest in the children of Queen Anne.

The "Act of Succession" was made a test, by which Henry could judge of the loyalty of his subjects. **Fisher**, Bishop of Rochester, and **Sir Thomas More** refused to swear to the invalidity of Catherine's marriage, because by so doing they would have openly disavowed the Pope's authority over the English Church, and so they were both sent to the Tower.

(7) In 1535 the **Act of Supremacy** was passed, conferring on the King the title of "*Supreme Head of the Church of England*," and denouncing anyone as guilty of high treason, who questioned that title. *This act marks the climax.* It completed the series of measures which separated the Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church. The monks of the Charterhouse (*i.e.* the house of the Carthusians) were the first to suffer for rejecting the Act of Supremacy. **Houghton**, the Prior, and six of the monks were executed, the monastery destroyed, and most of the other monks flung into noisome dungeons, and "chained to posts and not able to stir, and so left to perish of fever and starvation." The next victims were **Fisher** and **More**, who were still lingering in the Tower. Both refused to accept the Act of Supremacy and were beheaded on Tower Hill. Fisher was in high favour with the Pope, and when the news of his imprisonment reached Rome, the Pope unwisely sent him a Cardinal's hat. Henry's indignation was roused; he swore "*that Fisher should never have a head to put it on.*" More's execution followed shortly after, and he met his end with the same serene composure and facetious wit, which had marked the whole of his life. As he mounted the scaffold, the ladder tottered. "*See me safe up,*" said he to the Governor of the Tower, "*for my coming down I can shift for myself.*" After he had laid his head upon the block, he raised it again to move aside his beard. "*Pity,*" he murmured, "*that should be cut, that has not committed treason.*" And so he died.

More was one of the most brilliant men of his time, and his execution sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Francis of France remonstrated, and the Pope, not only excommuni-

cated Henry, but declared him deposed from his throne. But no threats terrified the relentless King, who was determined at all costs to be absolute ruler in his own kingdom.

NOTE.—**The Holy Maid of Kent.** The restlessness of the people of England generally was reflected in the strange influence, which was exercised by the “Maid of Kent.” This remarkable person was a servant in the family of a clergyman, residing at Addington in Kent. She had been subject to epileptic fits, and during her paroxysms had uttered many strange sayings, which were thought to be prophetic. When her fits ceased, she was taught to counterfeit a state of trance, and to speak against the changes, which had been made in the Church and the intended divorce of the Queen. Men of all classes believed her. Even Fisher and More gave credence to her sayings, and the monks, who were still the most zealous adherents of the Old Religion, and Henry’s most formidable opponents, used the so-called prophetic utterances to fan the growing discontent against the King. She even corresponded with Catherine and the Emperor Charles V., and became in fact a very dangerous person in England. When, however, she boldly declared that, “if Henry divorced Catherine and married again during her life-time, he would die a villain’s death,” it was thought expedient that she and her principal accomplices should be arrested. She was brought before the Star Chamber, and having confessed her imposture, was with six others executed.

### SECTION III.—THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

1. **Meaning of the term Reformation.** The “Reformation” is the term given to the great religious movement, which revolutionized England in the 16th century. But the term “Reformation” must not be understood in too limited a sense. Broadly speaking, the “Reforms” which accompanied this revolution fall under three heads:—

(1) The separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, and the consequent abolition of the Papal authority in England. For many years *very many* men had wished to see the Papal power over the English Church lessened. King John had by his servile submission to the Pope’s Legate, placed the Church under the direct control of the Pope. In the reign of Henry III. the Papal taxation had been most excessive. It is estimated that in a few years Cardinal Otho and Master Martin, the Pope’s agents in London, exacted from the clergy a sum equivalent to £15,000,000 of our money. All the most lucrative benefices were conferred on

Italians, who were ignorant of the English language and lived abroad. For these reasons the Popes had for a long time been very unpopular in England and several enactments, such as the "Statutes of Provisors" and "Præmunire" had been passed from time to time to curtail their power and prevent their interference in English affairs.

(2) Reforms relating to the Clergy, the monks, and the discipline of the Church. These were "Reforms" which *all* men wished to see carried out. "Corrupt and wicked living, interference in secular matters, non-residence, and pluralities, greed for money, excessive dues demanded from the people, a selfish and inordinate use of wealth, and a general neglect of spiritual duties, were characteristic of the clergy of the time, and called loudly for reform." Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, in an address to the Convocation of the clergy said, "*We are troubled with heretics, but no heresy of theirs is so fatal to us, and to the people at large, as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy. This is the worst heresy of all.*" Even the Bishops saw no harm in many of these abuses. **Fox**, Bishop of Winchester, a man eminent for his piety, for twenty years never once visited his see, while **Wolsey** held three sees at one and the same time, and never went near either of them.

(3) Reforms relating to the doctrines and services of the Church. A *very few* men, following the teaching of Luther and other Continental Reformers, wished that the doctrines and services of the Church should be of a simpler character and more in accordance, as they thought, with the teaching of the New Testament and of the Apostles. The *first* of these "Reforms" was purely "political" in its character, a change of doctrine being at first scarcely thought of. The *second* was "disciplinary" in its aim and bearing, and the *third* "doctrinal."

NOTE.—The principal causes, which hastened on the Reformation in Europe, were—(a) The scandalous lives of many of the clergy from the Popes downwards. A few of the Popes themselves had been bad men; **Alexander VI.** (the celebrated Rodrigo Borgia) had caused great scandal; **Julius II.** was a mere statesman with a decided talent for intrigue and war, whose sole object was to extend his temporal possessions; while **Leo X.** was an astute politician.

It is no wonder then, that with such men at the head of the Church, the clergy should have become so corrupt and depraved. "Encroachments on the temporal authority of princes, zeal in demanding dues, combined with laxity of morals, and the change which had come over the Papacy, as the head of the Catholic Church degraded himself by degrees to the position of an intriguing Italian prince, had shaken the hold of Rome upon men's minds." (BRIGHT.)

(b) **The Renaissance or New Birth of Letters.** This great movement marks the beginning of a new era of intellectual life and activity. Men began to read and study the writings of the old Greeks and Romans with rare devotion and astounding avidity. New ideas, and new fields of literature were presented to their minds, and they began to think more for themselves. To use the graphic words of a great writer, "*for the first time men opened their eyes and saw.*" They revolted against the bigotry, dogmatism and narrow-mindedness of the "Middle Ages."

The effects of this great intellectual movement were best seen in the zeal with which the little band of Oxford Reformers tried to shake off the trammels of the mediæval schoolmen, and introduce the study of Greek, and sound classical learning into the University. Among these reformers may be mentioned William Grocyn, who first taught Greek at Oxford; Thomas Linacre, Prince Arthur's tutor; John Colet, who first "lectured" on the Greek Testament at Oxford; Erasmus of Rotterdam, one of the most celebrated scholars of his time; and Thomas More, who devoted his life to the study of politics, but never lost his zeal for the New Learning.

(c) The more immediate cause of the Reformation in Germany, was the practice of selling "indulgences" by Tetzels, a Dominican Friar. Martin Luther, a young Augustine friar, was loud in his outcries against this practice, and indeed against the whole of the Papal system, and he drew up and fixed to the great door of the Church at Wittenberg, his "ninety-five propositions," denouncing the sale of indulgences, and maintaining the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ alone. In 1520, Leo X. published a Bull, threatening Luther with excommunication if he did not recant within six days, but Luther defiantly burnt the Bull before the assembled inhabitants of



Wittenberg. Luther's opinions spread rapidly throughout northern Germany, and thousands joined the ranks of the great "Reformer." Subsequently his followers were called "Protestants," because of the "protest" they made against the Papal system.

About the same time Zwingli, a noted reformer, was leading a similar movement among the Swiss at Zurich. He ordered all ornaments to be removed from the Church, instituted a simple form of praying and preaching, and taught that the Lord's Supper was nothing more than a "commemorative feast." Later on the great French Reformer, John Calvin, pushed the "new principles" to their uttermost, and established a model "reformed" Church in the free city of Geneva.

In England, as yet, the teaching of Luther had met with but little response. His works were publicly burnt at St. Paul's, and orders were issued for the prosecution of "heretics," as his followers were called, in the Bishop's Court. Henry VIII. took part in the Papal controversy against Luther, the "Quarrel of Friars," as the Pope contemptuously called it, and wrote a book in defence of the Seven Sacraments. The Pope graciously accepted a copy, and by a formal bull conferred on the writer the title of "*Fidei Defensor*," which is still retained on the coinage by our Sovereigns.

In 1525, William Tyndale printed an English version of the New Testament. Henry ordered all the copies that could be found to be burnt at St. Paul's Cross. But the publication of Tyndale's Testament marked the rise of a Protestant party in England, though for many years it was small, and subjected to bitter persecution.

2. **Rise and Administration of Thomas Cromwell.** In bringing the Church of England completely under his control, Henry was ably assisted by Thomas Cromwell. Cromwell was the son of a well-to-do fuller at Putney, and in his younger days was, so he tells us, "*somewhat of a ruffian*." He took part in the wars in Italy, and afterwards filled the post of a commercial clerk at Antwerp, where he amassed a fair amount of money. Subsequently he returned to England, and took up the occupation of a money-lender, and became a busy and influential member in the House of Commons. Wolsey recognized his abilities, and took him into his service. When his master fell from his high position, Cromwell was the only one of his many dependents, who clung faithfully to him, and the vigorous efforts he made in Parliament, saved his patron from impeachment. The King was so struck with the courageous and generous spirit, which he displayed in pleading for

Wolsey, that he took him at once into his favour and confidence. Cromwell became the leader and the moving spirit of the House of Commons, which completed the severance of the Church of England from Rome, and he held the administration of affairs from 1530 to 1540, "*a period in some respects the most momentous in our history.*" He was a strong, resolute and unscrupulous man, actuated by one absorbing passion, that of pleasing his royal master. Cranmer says of him "*that he loved the King no less than he loved God.*"

3. **Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1536.** To complete the separation of England from Rome Henry proceeded to suppress the monasteries. They were the strongholds of the Papal power, and their residents, the monks—the "*papal militia*" as they have been called—were the faithful adherents of the Pope. No class had so stubbornly resisted the religious changes, which had lately been introduced, more than the monks, and Henry felt that as long as the monasteries existed, his authority as "*Supreme Head of the Church*" would be set at defiance. Moreover the enormous wealth of the monasteries offered an easy prey to the rapacious King and his minister. Accordingly in 1535 Cromwell, acting as the King's chief minister in ecclesiastical matters with the title of "*Vicar-general*," sent round Doctors Legh and Leyton as Commissioners to enquire into the moral state of the monasteries. Their report, embodied in what was known as the "*Black Book*," showed that great corruption and idleness prevailed in many of them, and particularly in the smaller houses, though not to the extent that the Commissioners represented. Under the pretext of reforming abuses the monasteries were doomed to destruction, and in 1536, at the King's suggestion, Parliament passed a law enacting that all the monasteries, which possessed revenues less than £200 a year, should be suppressed. By this Act 376 monasteries were destroyed and their revenues, amounting to £32,000 a year, given to the Crown. Those of the Monks, who were not pensioned off, were taken into the larger monasteries.

NOTE 1.—Much may be said for and against the monasteries. The monks were indulgent landlords, and ready purchasers of



the farm produce of their tenants. They relieved the indigent and distressed, entertained the stranger, and gave shelter to the wayfarer. But "by their indiscriminate doles and charities, they reared and fostered the horde of itinerant beggars, who, under the name of pilgrims, tramped from abbey to abbey all the year round." (OMAN.) Moreover the monasteries served as schools for the children of the gentry, and often provided the necessary funds for the maintenance of poor youths at the Universities. But they had long ceased to fulfil the object for which they were founded; they had in fact out-lived their time. In a rude and illiterate age they had been the resort of men of culture and learning, but since the Renaissance their places had been supplied by the Universities. Wolsey had suppressed some of the smaller ones and appropriated their wealth towards the support of schools and colleges. Some of the most magnificent of these monasteries, such as Fountains and Tintern, had been built in the most out-of-the-way places, and were practically useless, except so far as they afforded shelter for a few dozen monks. Moreover, the acquisition of enormous wealth, and the absence of any regular employment besides the "mere mechanical work of the Church services," had made the monks idle and self-indulgent, and they had lost a good deal of their once-deserved popularity.

NOTE 2.—Trial and execution of Anne Boleyn, 1536. The same year, which was rendered memorable by the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, witnessed the tragic end of the new Queen. Henry had grown tired of her as he had of Catherine, and he was also disappointed in not having a male heir, as only a daughter, the Princess Elizabeth had been born to him from the marriage. Moreover the Queen's unseemly familiarity with his courtiers, and her want of dignity and decorum suitable to her high position, had roused Henry's displeasure. But the real cause of his estrangement was that he had fixed his affections on Jane Seymour, a young lady of singular merit and beauty, and a maid of honour in Anne's Court. Suddenly Anne was arrested and sent to the Tower. Before a council of twenty-six peers, among whom were her own father and uncle, she was charged with being unfaithful to her husband, and found guilty and sent to the scaffold, together with four of her alleged paramours. But the whole affair is shrouded in mystery, and it is impossible to say whether she was actually guilty of the abominable charges laid against her, or the victim of a base conspiracy. In all probability she had been nothing more than indiscreet, and guilty of such flirtations as might be expected from a giddy, gay and frivolous young woman, who lacked refinement. She died making protestations of her innocence, and the day after her execution, the King, with most unseemly haste, married Jane Seymour, the daughter of a plain Wiltshire knight. Queen Jane died the next year, after giving birth to a son, the future Edward VI., and for the next three years Henry remained unmarried.

4. **Disturbances which followed the dissolution of the smaller Monasteries.** The causes which produced these disturbances may be thus briefly stated—(a) The hardships and discontent of the agricultural labourers, who, by the conversion of arable land into pasturage had been to a very great extent thrown out of employment, and by the dissolution of the monasteries, deprived of the kindly assistance, which those religious houses afforded to the poor and indigent. (b) The people in the northern parts of England still retained their liking for the monasteries, and were horrified at the desecrations, which accompanied the destruction of those institutions and all the sacred things connected with them. (c) Lastly the rule of Cromwell had become most tyrannical. His spies literally flooded the country, and poured into the willing ear of the minister innumerable tales of plots and conspiracies. “He was so vigilant,” writes Cranmer, “to preserve the King from all treason, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same from the beginning.” “*Men felt,*” to use the words of Erasmus, “*as if a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone.*” It was indeed a “reign of terror.” The nobles hated him as an upstart, on account of his low-born origin. To the monastic orders he was a particular object of dread—“the hammer of the monks” as he was called,—while the poorer classes regarded him as the prime mover of the dissolution of the monasteries and all the consequent misery. He had usurped the royal power to such a degree “*that even the King with all his power could not hinder him.*” His plan of parish registers was considered as a means of “levying taxes on weddings and baptisms,” and it was even said “that no man would be allowed to eat meat in his own house without paying a tax to the King.”

(1) The first outbreak occurred in **Lincolnshire, 1536.** A report was spread that Heneage, one of the clerical commissioners intended to sack the treasury of the Church at Louth, and a mob assembled to guard it. Incited by the clergy, the rioters carried the “great cross” as a standard through the neighbouring towns and villages, but on the approach of the royal troops, under the **Duke of Suffolk,** they lost courage and dispersed.

(2) **The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.** A second and far more formidable rising broke out in **Yorkshire**. No less than 30,000 men, "*as tall and well-horsed and well-appointed as any men could be,*" assembled under the command of **Robert Aske**, a young lawyer, supported by **Lord Darcy**, an excellent soldier, and **Sir John Constable**, and some of the great nobles of the North. They took York, Hull and Pontefract, and being joined by the priors and abbots of the great abbeys of Yorkshire, marched to **Doncaster**. They bore before them the banner of St. Cuthbert, and also a standard on which were embroidered a Chalice and the Five Wounds of Christ. They called their movement the "*Pilgrimage of Grace*" because they said "that they were resolved to go to London on 'pilgrimage' to his King's Highness, and petition him that the religious houses should be restored, that all the villein blood be removed from the Privy Council, that all the heretic bishops should be deprived and punished, and full restitution made to the Church for all the wrongs done unto it." At Doncaster they were met by the royal forces under the Duke of Norfolk, but their menacing attitude compelled the Duke to treat with them instead of offering battle. He cleverly persuaded them to disperse to their homes, promising in the name of the King that a general pardon should be granted, and a Parliament should meet at York to consider their grievances. Aske, who seems to have been thoroughly noble-minded, accepted the conditions "on his knees," and the leaders flung aside their badge and banner and cried, "*We wear no badge but that of our lord the King.*" At once the insurgent army melted away, putting every confidence in the Duke's promises.

Henry had, however, no intention of performing what the Duke had promised, and the next year he marched into Yorkshire with a large and powerful army. A fresh insurrection in **Cumberland** and **Westmoreland** was made the pretext for taking vengeance on the ringleaders in the former rising. Aske, Darcy, Constable, as well as four abbots, who were the heads of some of the greatest monasteries in the North, were arrested and executed for high treason. A **Council of the North**, on the model of the "Star Chamber," was

established, which sat four months in the year "to keep the people in order, and to execute justice in the King's name."

NOTE.—The suppression of these revolts was followed by a formidable conspiracy. The Yorkist party was still very powerful in the West, and taking advantage of the popular discontent caused by Henry's religious changes, some of the Yorkist leaders entered into a conspiracy to dethrone Henry and restore the Yorkist line. The powerful nobles, **Henry Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, and **Henry Pole**, Lord Montague, were implicated in the plot, and on the evidence of **Sir Geoffrey Pole**, Montague's younger brother, who turned traitor, both Courtenay and Pole were arrested. Although the evidence of their guilt was very slight, Henry took prompt measures, and both were found guilty of high treason, and beheaded on Tower Hill. The aged Countess of Salisbury, whose only crime was, that she was the mother of Montague, was sent to the Tower, where she remained till 1541. Henry was undoubtedly exasperated against the family of the Poles by the somewhat unwise conduct of **Reginald Pole**, the brother of Lord Montague. Pole had been a great favourite with Henry, and had at first favoured the Divorce, but subsequently he disapproved of it, and left England for Rome. While there he won a high position, and in 1536 was made a Cardinal by the Pope. He also published a treatise entitled the "*Unity of the Church*," in which he inveighed against Henry's divorce with Catherine and marriage with Anne Boleyn, and even urged the Emperor Charles to revenge on Henry the injury done to the Imperial family and to the Catholic cause. "*Pity*," wrote Cromwell, "*that the folly of one witless fool should be the ruin of so great a family.*"

5. **Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries, 1539.** The plunder of the lesser monasteries had been so great that Henry and his rapacious minister, Cromwell, could not resist the temptation to lay hands on the larger and richer monasteries. Moreover, the suppression of the late insurrections had so considerably strengthened the King's position, that he was enabled by the co-operation of an obsequious Parliament to complete his work of destruction. Accordingly, in 1539 the Commons passed an Act for the dissolution of the remaining monasteries, and *by the end of 1540 not a single religious house remained in England.* In most cases the abbots and monks, terrified by the fates of the smaller religious houses, surrendered their estates voluntarily, and were either pensioned off or promoted, but where persuasion and threats proved of no avail, extreme violence was used. The rich abbots of **Glastonbury**, **Reading** and **Colchester** would

not surrender their houses, and were all indicted for high treason and hanged. In the destruction of the monasteries themselves the most profane desecration was used. Everything that would fetch a price was sold, even the bells and lead from the roofs, while the walls were left standing "to be used as a quarry for the people in the neighbourhood." Popular relics were also destroyed. The magnificent shrine of Thomas à Becket (St. Thomas of Canterbury, as he was called) was levelled to the ground, his bones burnt, and the ashes cast into the air, and his name erased from the calendar as "that of a traitor who had ventured to oppose a king."

The property thus acquired by the dissolution of the monasteries realized the enormous revenue of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions of our money, but very little of it passed into the King's hands. (a) A good deal of the land was given away or sold at a low rate to the newly-created nobles, who had gained their titles by ministering to the King's whims and caprices. (b) Some of the money was spent in pensioning off the abbots and monks; some in re-organizing the navy and erecting fortifications along the coast. (c) Six new bishoprics were founded, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Westminster and Oxford.

6. The **Six Articles** called by the Protestants the "Bloody Statute," and the "Whip with Six Strings" is passed 1539. In 1536 Henry had ordered a **translation of the Bible** to be made into English, and a copy to be placed in every Church. But in granting this privilege it was not his purpose to give any countenance to the Protestants, any more than he did to the Roman Catholics. True it was, that he had severed England from Rome, but he did not intend to forsake the doctrines and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. He was alarmed and disgusted at the spread of the Protestant doctrines, and the irreverent way in which the advanced Reformers ridiculed the services of the Old Faith. No doubt the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in English had done much to increase diversity of opinion on religious subjects, and Henry himself complained in bitter words "*that the new Scriptures were disputed, rhymed, sung and jangled in every ale-house and tavern.*"



Such a state of things was highly repugnant to the feelings of a man like Henry VIII., who wished to establish, as much as possible, unity in belief in what was thought to be the essential points of Church doctrine. Accordingly in 1539 he forced his Parliament to pass the cruel Act of the "Six Articles." This Statute declared in favour of (1) the Real Presence of "the natural Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper"; (2) the sufficiency of Communion in one kind; (3) the celibacy of the Clergy; (4) the perpetual obligation of the vows of chastity; (5) private masses; and (6) auricular confession. Whoever wrote or spoke against the first of these articles was to be burnt as a heretic; and whoever wrote or spoke against the last five should, for the first offence be condemned to imprisonment and forfeiture of all his goods, and be hanged for the second offence.

NOTE.—Under this cruel Act no less than 500 Protestants were thrown into prison and twenty-eight executed. Cranmer was compelled to put away his wife, and two Bishops, one of whom was Latimer, resigned their sees.

Thus it was that Henry hanged Roman Catholics as *traitors*, for rejecting the Act of Supremacy, and burnt Protestants as *heretics*, for refusing to accept the Roman Catholic Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

**7. Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves and the Fall of Cromwell, 1539.** For three years Henry had remained a widower, when Cromwell, who was anxious to form an alliance with the German Protestants against the Emperor Charles V., persuaded his royal master to marry **Anne**, sister of William of Cleves, and a relation of the Elector of Saxony, who was at this time the most powerful of all the German Protestant Princes. Holbein, a great German painter, who had settled in England, was sent over by Cromwell to paint a flattering portrait of this lady, and when Henry saw it, he was so pleased with it, that a marriage was at once arranged, and Anne brought over to England. But Henry found her so illiterate and so utterly destitute of grace and beauty, that he refused to take her as his wife. He could not, however, send her back to Germany without offending the German Protestants and causing them to ally themselves with Charles, and so he completed the marriage, telling Cromwell "*that as he had gone so far he must put his*

neck into the yoke." When he found the negotiations for an alliance with the German Princes had failed, he divorced Anne, and gave her a liberal allowance and handsome residence at Chelsea, where she lived till her death.

The failure of the alliance with the German Princes, and Henry's disgust at his marriage with Anne of Cleves, proved Cromwell's ruin. Cromwell had made many enemies, and now that there were symptoms of a decline of the royal favour, everyone turned against him. As in the case of Wolsey, Henry did not hesitate to hand his minister over to his exasperated enemies, as soon as he saw that his policy had failed. He was arrested at the council-table by the Duke of Norfolk, who unceremoniously tore the ensign of the Garter from his neck, and charged him with treason. "*This then,*" he cried bitterly, "*is the guerdon for the services I have done,*" and flung his cap to the ground. "*On your conscience I ask you am I a traitor?*" When he perceived that his doom was fixed, he "bade his enemies make quick work and not leave him to languish in prison."

The charges brought against him were, that he had received bribes and released persons convicted of treason from prison; that he had issued commissions on his own authority; and that he had favoured the Protestant party by dispensing heretical books. Probably all these charges were true, but they fail to justify Henry's cruel treatment of a minister, who had so faithfully served his royal master for ten years, and safely piloted the State through the stormy period of the Seven Years' Parliament.

Cromwell was not allowed to speak at his trial. He had caused a law to be passed, which forbade persons accused of high treason to speak in their own defence, and his enemies were determined "*that he should be judged by the bloody law, which he had himself made.*" A Bill of Attainder was passed against him and he was executed.

NOTE.—Cromwell's aims and work. Under the rule of Cromwell, the "New Monarchy" (as the period of the Tudors is sometimes called) reached the height of its power. Cromwell's whole aim seems to have been to make the King's power absolute both in Church and State, and he pursued his aim with such steadiness of purpose, cool determination, and ruthless severity that he stands out as one of the most terrible



figures in our history. No class of persons escaped the rigour of his rule. He struck at the **Monastic System**, by hanging contumacious monks and abbots indiscriminately; he put down a seditious **Baronage** by imprisoning the aged Countess of Salisbury, and beheading her son Lord Montague and Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter; and dealt a heavy blow at the **New Learning**, by sending Sir Thomas More, one of its most devoted disciples, to the scaffold. How far he succeeded in his great aim may be seen from the following facts. He was mainly instrumental in abolishing the authority of the Pope in England, and making Henry Supreme Head of the Church; he effectively carried out the work of the destruction of the monasteries; he took away from the Church all its power and placed it in the King's hands, and decided what opinions were orthodox and what were not. Under his rule the Lords lost all their power, the Commons became a "*mere engine of tyranny*"; royal proclamations were considered of equal authority with Acts of Parliament, benevolences took the place of Parliamentary taxation, and the coercion of judges and juries rendered the administration of justice subject to the royal will.

Cromwell was the first of the long line of lay statesmen, who have ruled England. *No minister has left his mark so clearly stamped on the page of her history.*

8. **Re-action in favour of the Old Religion.** In 1540 Henry married Catherine Howard, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk. The old nobility regarded this marriage as the triumph of their party, and the affairs of State were now directed by **Norfolk** and **Gardiner**, Bishop of Winchester.

But Henry had not been wedded to his young wife twelve months, before he discovered that she had led a dissolute life before her marriage, and in all probability had been guilty of misconduct since. Catherine herself, and the Viscountess of Rochfort, who had connived at her amours, and two of her paramours were tried, found guilty and executed, and the next year the King married **Catherine Parr**, the widow of Lord Latimer, who was a sensible and discreet person, and had the good fortune to outlive her husband.

**NOTE.—Execution of the Countess of Salisbury.** In 1541 a considerable rising broke out in Yorkshire, instigated it was said by the intrigues of **Cardinal Pole**. The rising was easily suppressed, and Henry, with a savage cruelty, ordered the Countess of Salisbury, the Cardinal's mother, who was still a prisoner in the Tower, to be beheaded for a supposed complicity in the rebellion.

9. **Rise of the Protestant Party to power and Death of the King.** Meanwhile the King's health was gradually declining, and he became so weak, that he could neither walk nor stand. Gradually, too, his personal influence was becoming less felt, and the contests between the rival parties, the Roman Catholic and Protestant members of the Council, grew fiercer every day. The Roman Catholics were led by the **Duke of Norfolk**, and the Protestants by **Edward Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, and both leaders were doing their utmost to secure the Regency after the King's death.

It was clear, however, that in 1544 the Protestant party was in the ascendancy. In that year Cranmer ordered that prayers in English should be offered up for the success of the King's expedition to Boulogne, and in the same year he composed a **Litany** in English for the use of priests and people in processions. This may be considered as the foundation stone of the future book of Common Prayer. It was followed by a **Liturgy** consisting of the "Litany, Creed, Ten Commandments, and Lord's Prayer," and was ordered to be read in English. In 1545 an Act was passed for the dissolution of chantries, hospitals and free chapels, thus completing the destruction of all religious houses in England.

But persecutions were still rife. **Anne Askew**, a young lady of great learning and beauty attached to the Court, was condemned to death and burnt for denying the doctrine of the "Real Presence" in the Sacrament. Even the Queen, who was secretly inclined to the principles of the Reformation, on one occasion fell into great danger, and was only saved by her tact and discretion.

As Henry drew near his end, his sole aim was to secure a peaceful succession to the throne for his son. He was anxious that the power should not fall into Norfolk's hands, whom he regarded as a Roman Catholic of strong views, and a man likely to head any re-actionary movement against the Reformation. He therefore arranged that the **Earl of Hertford**, the boy's paternal uncle, should act as Regent after his death, and carry out his last wishes with regard to the succession. But Norfolk hated Hertford as an upstart and

heretic, and was resolved to make a bold attempt to overthrow his rival and secure the power, which was slipping from his grasp. His son, the **Earl of Surrey**, a man of considerable literary ability, but of a rash and violent temper, had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on the family shield, an act which signified that he was in direct descent from the throne. This Henry deemed a sufficient reason for the arrest of both father and son. Surrey was tried by jury, condemned of high treason and executed. A Bill of Attainder was passed against Norfolk, and the 28th of January, 1547, fixed for his execution. But just before he reached the scaffold, Henry died, and his victim was led back to prison.

**NOTE 1.—Settlement of the Succession.** By will, Henry left the crown to Edward, his son by Jane Seymour; if Edward died without issue, to his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, in order of birth. If Mary and Elizabeth both died without children, he willed that the crown should go, not to Mary, Queen of Scots (since he felt that England would not tolerate a Scottish ruler), but to his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk.

**NOTE 2.—War with Scotland. Causes.** James V. of Scotland was greatly under Roman Catholic influence, and since Henry had broken with Rome, James had come to regard him as an enemy. Henry, anxious to establish a friendly feeling between himself and the Scottish King, sought a personal interview with him at York, but owing to the influence of Cardinal Beaton, the head of the Roman Catholic party, the meeting never took place. In 1542, Henry felt compelled to proclaim war with James, and sent an army under the Duke of Norfolk to invade Scotland. Norfolk ravaged the Scottish border in the usual barbarous manner and then retired to Berwick, whereupon, James despatched an army of 10,000 men into Cumberland under the command of Oliver Sinclair, a Court favourite. On being attacked by a small body of English borderers, the whole Scottish army fled in the greatest confusion, and becoming entangled in the marsh-land, bordering on the Solway Firth, was completely overthrown at the battle of **Solway Moss**, 1542. The news of this disaster so affected James, that he died almost immediately after, leaving the crown to his infant daughter, afterwards the celebrated Mary, Queen of Scots.

**NOTE 3.—War with France and Scotland.** In 1543, Henry proposed a marriage between his son, Edward, and Mary, the young Queen of Scotland, but Cardinal Beaton opposed the scheme, and entered into a close alliance with France. This led to an open rupture between Henry and the latter country, and in 1544, Henry joined the Emperor, Charles V., in alliance against Francis of France. It was agreed that the two sovereigns

should invade France simultaneously; Charles on the north-east, and Henry by way of Calais. In 1544, Henry landed at Calais in person with 30,000 men, and captured Boulogne after a long and tedious siege. Meanwhile, Charles having taken a few towns on the north-eastern frontier deserted his ally, and concluded a peace with Francis at Cr  py.

In 1545, the French, by way of retaliation, collected a large fleet in Normandy for the invasion of England. Active preparations were made in England to resist the invaders; 12,000 troops were raised and stationed at various places, and a large fleet under Lord Lisle was anchored at Portsmouth. But the French merely made a raid on the Isle of Wight and then withdrew to France. Shortly after, both nations being weary of a useless and expensive war, concluded the **Peace of Boulogne**, the terms of which were—(1) that Francis should pay two millions of crowns to Henry during the next eight years; (2) that a life pension of 100,000 crowns should also be paid to Henry; (3) and that Boulogne should be held by Henry as a security for the payment of these sums.

In 1543, Henry sent a large fleet and army to invade Scotland under the Earl of Hertford, who laid waste the whole country between Berwick and Edinburgh, took and partially burnt Edinburgh itself, and then passed over and joined the English army at Calais. But the war with Scotland still continued with varied success till 1546, when Scotland was included in the Peace of Boulogne.

The wars with France and Scotland had been most expensive, and to supply an exhausted treasury Henry had recourse to the most unjust expedient of debasing the coinage. The effect on trade was disastrous. English money, which hitherto had been the best and purest in Europe, was now no longer accepted by continental merchants. In the towns the greatest distress prevailed, and in the country beggary and robbery.

**NOTE 4.—Irish Affairs.** Henry VIII.'s policy with regard to Ireland was to conciliate the Irish chiefs by conferring on them English titles and honours, and by inducing them to accept English laws, manners and customs. This policy, however, failed, and Henry found that he was compelled to rule Ireland by force. In 1536, the Fitzgeralds broke out in open rebellion and were only suppressed by wholesale executions. In 1541 a Parliament at Dublin gave Henry a new title, that of "King of Ireland" instead of "Lord of Ireland." The effect of this was that Ireland was brought into closer connection with the English crown than it had ever been before.

EDWARD VI., 1547—1553 (6 years).

**Title :** Son of Henry VIII.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—THE REGENCY OF SOMERSET AND  
ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM.**

Character of Edward VI. Somerset becomes Protector. Character and Policy of Somerset. War with Scotland and Battle of Pinkie. Progress of the Reformation. Consequent troubles and insurrections. Execution of Lord Seymour. General discontent in England. Ket's Rebellion. Debasement of the Coinage. Fall of Somerset.

**SECTION II.—THE MISRULE OF WARWICK.**

Character and Policy of Warwick. Further Steps in the Reformation. Execution of Somerset. Northumberland's plan to change the succession, and place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Death of the King.

**NAMES OF NOTE.**

Lord Somerset ; Lord Seymour ; John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland ; Cranmer ; Lady Jane Grey ; Ket.

**LEADING DATES.**

Battle of Pinkie . . . . .	1547
Vagrancy Act . . . . .	1547
First Prayer Book of Edward approved of by Parliament . . . . .	1549
First Act of Uniformity . . . . .	1549
Ket's Rebellion . . . . .	1549
Execution of Somerset . . . . .	1552
Second Act of Uniformity and Second Prayer Book issued . . . . .	1552
Death of Edward VI. . . . .	1553



## SECTION I.—THE REGENCY OF SOMERSET AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM.

1. **Character of Edward VI.** The young King was a bright and intelligent boy of ten years of age at the time of his accession. He was grave and precocious, and delighted much in reading, and at a very early age showed a wonderful proficiency in general knowledge. He was very religious, and took great pleasure in reading the Scriptures and in listening to long sermons. His sympathies were wholly on the side of the Reformers, and he gave his undivided support to those, who were entrusted with the administration of the Government.
2. **Somerset becomes Protector.** By will, Henry VIII. had left the Regency to a Council of Sixteen, called "Executors," in the selection of which, he had so arranged that all persons of rash and violent character should be excluded, that the adherents of the "Old" and "New Religions" should be about equally balanced, and that no one member should have precedence over the rest, so that the responsibility of the government should rest with the whole Council. But as soon as Henry was dead, Hereford upset the whole scheme. By promises of peerages and large gifts of money, he prevailed upon his colleagues to set aside Henry's plan of government, and allow himself to take the office of "President of the Council and of the King's person," under the title of the Duke of Somerset.
3. **Character and Policy of Somerset.** Somerset was in many ways a very remarkable man. His undaunted courage, his generous disposition and real sympathy for the poor and suffering had gained him much popularity, but he attempted too many things at one time, and had an unbounded confidence in his own ability. "Commissions for this matter, new laws for that, and proclamations for another, followed each other in such quick succession, that the people utterly disregarded them." As a politician he may best be described as one, "*who always took the second step before he took the first.*" Moreover he had neither the moderating influence, nor the well-balanced mind, which Henry VIII. with all his faults possessed. His idea of government was far too "Utopian." Under his rule,



moderation and the strict administration of justice were to take the place of the stern coercive policy of the late reign. As Paget, his most ardent supporter, and the wisest statesman of his time writes of him, "the reason why the King's subjects are out of all discipline, out of all obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, is Somerset's lenity, his softness, his concessions to the Commons, and his commiseration of the poor." He possessed very little practical wisdom, and no insight into public opinion, and failed to perceive that the country was unripe for the great and sudden changes, which it was called upon to accept.

4. **War with Scotland, 1547.** Somerset's policy with regard to Scotland was somewhat reckless. Although he was fully occupied with the Reformation, he began to think that the time was come for carrying out Henry VIII.'s cherished project of uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland by the marriage of the young King Edward and the Scottish Queen Mary. But the majority of the Scots hated an alliance with England, and the Protector resolved to use coercive measures. With a large army of 20,000 men he crossed the Border, and came upon the Scots entrenched in a strong position at **Pinkie**, near Musselburg, to cover Edinburgh. For two whole days the armies stood facing each other, but the Scots were so eager to commence the fray that they left their strong position and attacked the English lines. This movement decided the fate of the battle. The Scots suffered a terrible defeat; no less than 13,000 of their men lay dead on the field, and the English followed up their easily-gained victory by devastating the country far and wide, and by burning Holyrood and Leith.

NOTE.—The victory at Pinkie completely destroyed the military power of Scotland for a time, but otherwise it was barren of any political advantage. It compelled the Scots to enter into an alliance with France, and their young Queen was sent to Paris, where she was educated in the Roman Catholic religion with a view to become the future wife of Francis, the Dauphin. The ruthless barbarity of the invasion compelled even those Scotchmen, who were in favour of the English alliance, to admit that "*they misliked not the match, but hated the manner of the wooing.*" Scotland now became entirely subject to French influence, the progress of the Reformation received a severe check, and in retaliation for the invasion of Scotland, France assailed Boulogne, and took it after a long struggle.

**5. Progress of the Reformation.** No sooner was Somerset installed in office, than he abandoned the middle line of policy marked out by Henry VIII., and threw himself wholly into the hands of the Reforming Party. *He was fully resolved to sweep away every vestige of the Old Religion.*

(1) Orders were issued that all images of saints should be removed from the churches, that painted glass adorned with figures of saints and angels should be broken, and that frescoes on church walls should be covered with plaster or white-washed. The gross irreverence, with which these orders were carried out, shocked in no small degree the religious feelings of the majority of the people.

(2) Many old customs and holy-days were abolished. Cranmer set the example by eating meat in Lent, "*the like of which was never seen since England became a Christian country*;" candles were not allowed to be carried on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, nor palms on Palm Sunday.

(3) In 1549 an Act of Uniformity was passed, abolishing the Mass, and enforcing the use of the First Book of Common Prayer. An Act was also passed by the same Parliament allowing the clergy to marry.

(4) All the Acts of Parliament against the Lollards or "heretics" passed since the fifth year of the reign of Richard II., were repealed, together with the Act of the Six Articles.

(5) A Book of Homilies, a kind of authorised sermons, was compiled and appointed to be read by the clergy to their congregations.

NOTE 1.—Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, ventured to denounce all these changes, and were sent to the Tower.

NOTE 2.—An Act was also passed granting to the reigning King all the colleges, chantries and free chapels, which had escaped confiscation in the reign of Henry VIII., and the greedy councillors enriched themselves with the spoils. So great was the race for wealth among the members of the Council, that the endowments of lay corporations, guilds and trading companies were also confiscated on the ground that part of the funds had been applied to religious services.

**6. Consequent troubles and insurrections.** Somerset's incapacity as a ruler, and the quarrels of the Council, distracted the realm and weakened his power. Insurrections broke out, and general distress prevailed.

(1) **Execution of Lord Seymour.** Taking advantage of the popular discontent, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, "*a man of much wit and very little judgment,*" began to plot against his brother, the Protector, with a view to oust him from the Regency. To increase his influence, Seymour had married Henry's widow, Catherine Parr, and on her death even aspired to the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. He had spoken disparagingly about the Protector's government, and although he was Lord High Admiral, he had refused to take command of the fleet in the late Scottish war. Moreover, he had obtained control of the British mint, established cannon foundries, and entered into secret correspondence with the pirates of the English Channel. But he was too rash and headstrong to carry out his scheme successfully. On information supplied by the Earl of Southampton, he was arrested, condemned by an Act of Attainder, and executed. "*He was a wicked man,*" said Latimer, "*and the realm was well rid of him.*"

(2) **General Discontent in England.** The chief causes of this were—(a) The wanton destruction of so many things, which were considered sacred, roused the indignation of the people against the Protector and his Council; (b) The new proprietors of the abbey lands demanded higher rents from their tenants, and in every way showed themselves far more rapacious landlords than the Monastic Corporations had been; (c) The "Common Lands" were enclosed by the new landlords, and the labourers were no longer allowed to make use of them for pasturing their cattle; (d) The landlords found that sheep-farming was a far more profitable occupation than corn-growing, because wool could be produced at a less cost than corn, and yet fetch a higher price than that product, and so they converted all their arable land into pasture. But by so doing, many labourers were thrown out of employment, and were unable to pay their rent. Evictions followed, and whole districts became depopulated. Latimer, in one of his sermons, says, that "*where there was a great number of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog.*" In fact, whole towns and villages once flourishing and populous, became altogether decayed, and without a single inhabitant. As a natural consequence the country swarmed with

"valiant and sturdy beggars," who numbered among their ranks, evicted peasants, unfrocked monks, pilgrims and disbanded soldiers, and who got their living by begging or stealing. Crime and violence were so rife, that a contemporaneous writer tells us, "*that there was no country in the world, where there were so many thieves and robbers as there were in England.*"

To suppress this vagrancy, the Parliament adopted strong coercive measures. In 1547, it passed the **Vagrant Act**. By this statute it was enacted—(a) That any determinately idle and able-bodied vagrant might be adjudged by two magistrates to any one wanting him as a slave, branded with a letter V, and kept in slavery for two years; (b) If he still refused to work, he might be made a slave for life, or finally punished as a felon.

The Vagrant Act was a most oppressive measure. It does not seem to have as yet been understood by the legislature, that it was useless to make laws to punish men for not working, when there was no work to be done. Even Sir Thomas More, in his "Utopia" bitterly complains of its injustice. "If," says he, "*you do not remedy the evils which produce thieves, the rigorous execution of justice in punishing thieves is vain.*"

(3) **Ket's Rebellion in Norfolk, 1549.** This was a great agrarian movement. The sympathy, which Somerset had shown towards the people in the matter of the enclosures, encouraged them to take up arms against their oppressive landlords. Accordingly, a body of peasants numbering 16,000 men, under the leadership of one, **Robert Ket**, a tanner, who called himself "King of Norfolk and Suffolk," took up their position on Mousehold Hill outside Norwich. They demanded—(1) That evil counsellors should be removed; (2) That common lands should not be enclosed; and (3) That the grievances of the poor should be speedily redressed. Raids were made into the surrounding country, palings of the "enclosed lands" demolished, property seized and brought into the camp for the general use of the troops, and obnoxious landlords arraigned before a tribunal, where Ket and the Mayor of Norwich sat as judges. In an oak tree near the camp, called the "*Oak of Reformation*," a pulpit was erected, and sermons were preached by the

neighbouring clergy. Somerset's sympathy with the rebels, and consequent inaction, allowed the insurrection to assume large and threatening proportions. The insurgents defeated the **Earl of Northampton**, who had been sent against them, and stormed Norwich. Ultimately, however, they were utterly routed on **Mousehold Hill**, by some bands of German and Italian mercenaries, under the command of **Warwick**, and the rebellion was crushed. A few of the leaders were hung on the "Oak of Reformation," and Ket himself in Norwich castle.

NOTE.—This is the first time, since the reign of John, that we read of foreign troops being used to put down an English rising.

(4) **Insurrection in the South-west, 1549.** The insurrection, which broke out in Cornwall and Devon, was a *religious movement*. The people of Cornwall refused to receive the New Liturgy, because they said, "*it was like a Christmas game.*" In Devon, the people demanded—(1) The restoration of the Mass and the Six Articles; (2) The replacement of images in the Churches; (3) The abolition of the English Liturgy. The rebels numbering 10,000 men took Exeter, but were defeated by Lord Grey, at **St. Mary's Clyst**, a village about four miles from Exeter. The leaders were sent to London, tried and executed, and their followers punished by martial law. As the movement was directed against the "Protestant Reforms," the Protector had no scruples in crushing it with terrible severity.

(5) **Debasement of the Coinage.** Both Somerset and Warwick resorted to an easy and expeditious, though, unjust way of replenishing the exhausted treasury, by debasing the coinage, and in a short time there were no less than £270,000 of base money in circulation. The results of this were, that all the "good" money left the country, the prices of commodities rose enormously, and foreign trade was at a standstill. Warwick attempted to remedy the evil by "calling down the money," *i.e.* by making the "real" and "nominal" value of it equal. He issued "good" silver money, but refused to take back the "base" money at the rate at which it had been issued. For example, the "testoons," or bad shillings, which were in circulation to



an enormous extent, he agreed only to take back as *sixpences*. Such an expedient was of course most harmful to the people, and had a pernicious effect upon trade generally.

7. **Fall of Somerset.** Meanwhile Somerset had become very unpopular with all parties. (1) The war with Scotland had failed in attaining its object and had led to a rupture with France. (2) The adherents of the Old Religion were his open and declared enemies, while the violent changes, which he had made in the religious services, tended to produce general discontent, and in some parts riots and insurrections. (3) His sympathy with the people in the matter of the enclosure of common lands had alienated the nobles, and his inability and weakness in attempting to crush Ket's rebellion had disgusted his colleagues in the Regency. (4) Lastly, he had lost the good opinion of the public, owing to the irreverent way in which he pulled down churches to supply himself with space and material for the erection of a palace in the Strand, afterwards called **Somerset House**.

Finding that he was deserted on all sides, he threw himself on the mercy of his enemies. He was arrested and sent to the Tower, but having confessed himself guilty of the charges laid against him, he was liberated and re-admitted to the Council.

## SECTION II.—THE MISRULE OF WARWICK.

1. **Character and Policy of Warwick.** The most powerful member of the Council at this time was **John Dudley, Earl of Warwick**, the son of the unscrupulous agent of Henry VII. Warwick was the very opposite in character to his predecessor Somerset. He was ambitious, insincere and self-seeking, and cared more for the advancement of himself and his family than for the public good. He was, moreover, perfectly indifferent about matters of religion, and rather than look for support from the Old Nobility, made common cause with the Reforming Party. He governed no better than his predecessor, and his weak administration has been stigmatized as the "*Protestant Misrule*."

**NOTE.**—The loss of Boulogne. For two years the war with France had dragged on without any decisive results. In 1550 Warwick was compelled to make a humiliating peace with France, the terms of which were that Boulogne should be given up to the French, and that France should pay England 400,000 crowns.



## 2. Further Steps in the Reformation.

(1) In 1552 a **Second Act of Uniformity** was passed, and a **Second Prayer Book** issued, with orders that it was to be the only service book used in churches. This Book is substantially the same as the present Prayer Book of the Church of England. (2) The following year Cranmer drew up the **Forty-two Articles of Religion**, and all Clergymen were required to give their assent to the same. These Articles show what an advance had been made in Reformed principles, and how completely the English Church had abandoned the doctrines of Henry VIII. and adopted those of the Reformers. (3) Further orders were issued for the removal of all **images, statues, figures and paintings** from churches. (4) Foreign preachers, such as **Peter Martyr** and **Bucer**, were invited into England to teach the people the religious views of the German Reformers, while Gardiner and Bonner, still refusing to accept the new state of things, were kept in prison. (5) The **abolition of the ecclesiastical courts** increased the disorder which reigned in the Church. "Priests flung aside the surplice as superstitious, patrons of livings presented their huntsmen or game-keepers to the benefices in their gift and pocketed the stipend. All teaching of Divinity ceased at the Universities." (GREEN.) The utmost profanity for things sacred existed, the Mass was parodied, the Sacraments ridiculed, and the fundamental truths of religion questioned.

NOTE 1.—Meanwhile, those who differed in their religious opinions from the party in power, were condemned and burnt as "heretics." **Joan Boucher** and **George Van Paris** were both burnt for denying the Doctrine of the Incarnation.

NOTE 2.—The covetousness of the courtiers and nobles was one of the curses of the time. As there were no longer any monasteries to plunder, church property, endowments at the universities, and the revenues and lands of the Bishops were seized to glut the greed of the nobles. Even the property of the Crown did not escape in this general scramble for wealth. It is said that Somerset and Warwick, together with their friends, enriched themselves with crown lands to the value of £5,000,000 of our money. Latimer, in his sermons before the King, boldly condemned this shameful practice, and was silenced by order of the Court.

## 3. Execution of Somerset, 1552. Warwick's government had become so unpopular that Somerset began to gather his old

friends round him, hoping by their assistance to regain his lost power. His generous disposition and his attachment to the Protestant cause had gained him many friends, but his plans were betrayed by **Sir Thomas Palmer**, and he was arrested and sent to the Tower. Subsequently he was tried, and found guilty on the charge "*of plotting to regain the Regency by force of arms,*" and executed. The people, in spite of his failings, loved him to the last, and great precautions had to be taken to prevent disturbances at his execution. Those, who stood nearest the scaffold, ran eagerly forward and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, so as to preserve them as relics.

4. **Northumberland's plan to change the line of succession and place Lady Jane Grey on the throne.** The young King was suffering from consumption, and could not live much longer, and by Henry VIII.'s will, it had been arranged, that if Edward died without children, the Princess Mary should succeed to the throne. Mary was a zealous Roman Catholic, and Northumberland knew well enough that, if she became Queen, there would be little chance of his escaping death on the scaffold. Under the pretext of upholding the Protestant Religion he devised a plan, as daring as it was unscrupulous, of setting aside the succession. He told the King that he had a perfect right to devise the crown by will to whom he pleased, as his father had done before him, and persuaded him to pass over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and leave the crown to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who was known to be a fervent Protestant. Meanwhile he allied himself to the royal family by marrying his son Lord Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane.

**NOTE.**—The pretext for setting aside the two Princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, was, that they were illegitimate, since Parliament had declared the marriages of Catherine and Anne Boleyn with Henry VIII. "null and void."

A will was therefore drawn up by the judges in accordance with Northumberland's plan, and signed by the members of the Council, peers and judges, some by threats, and some by entreaties. Cranmer was the last to give his signature, and then he did so only by the personal entreaty of the King.

**Death of the King.** During the summer of 1552, the delicate young King gradually wasted away and died, and

his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, was immediately proclaimed Queen in London.

NOTE.—**Foundation of Grammar Schools.** It is pleasing to record that amidst all these religious and social disturbances some encouragement was given to education. Eighteen Grammar Schools were founded, intended no doubt to replace the “ecclesiastical system of education” afforded by the monasteries.

MARY, 1553—1558 (5 years).

**Title:** Elder daughter of Henry VIII.

**Married:** Philip II. of Spain.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—THE USURPATION OF LADY JANE GREY.**

Mary escapes to Norfolk, and Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed Queen. Failure of Northumberland's plan. Mary is proclaimed Queen. Character of Mary.

**SECTION II.—MARY'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP OF SPAIN.**

Risings under Suffolk and Sir Peter Carew. Wyatt's Rebellion. Execution of Lady Jane Grey, her husband, Suffolk, and Wyatt. Marriage of the Queen, and the marriage contract.

**SECTION III.—RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION, AND THE MARIAN PERSECUTION.**

The Roman Catholic Religion is restored. The Marian Persecution. Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer are burnt. Popular discontent. War with France, and Loss of Calais. Death of Mary.

**NAMES OF NOTE.**

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Bonner, Bishop of London; Renard, Ambassador of Charles V.; Cardinal Pole; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester; Ridley, Bishop of London; Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Sir Thomas Wyatt; Philip II. of Spain.

## LEADING DATES.

Execution of Lady Jane Grey	. . . . .	1554
Wyatt's Rebellion	. . . . .	1554
Latimer and Ridley burnt	. . . . .	1555
Cranmer burnt	. . . . .	1556
Loss of Calais	. . . . .	1558

## SECTION I.—THE USURPATION OF LADY JANE GREY.

1. **Mary escapes to Norfolk, and Lady Jane is proclaimed Queen.** Northumberland tried to conceal the news of King Edward's death, until he could arrest the Princess Mary. She had, however, received secret intelligence of it while at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and having eluded the Earl of Warwick, Northumberland's son, who was sent to effect her capture, rode forty miles without rest to Kenninghall, a strong castle in Norfolk. This castle belonged to the Howards, her staunch supporters, and afforded, from its proximity to the sea, an easy means of escape to the continent, if flight should be necessary.

When, however, it was no longer possible to conceal Edward's death, Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane as Queen. But all London was strongly in favour of Mary. Both Catholics and Protestants were so thoroughly persuaded that she was the rightful heir to the throne, and their hatred of Northumberland so intense, that the proclamation was received with ominous silence. An apprentice lad spoke the feelings of the assembled citizens, when he boldly shouted that "*the Lady Mary had the better title.*"

NOTE.—Lady Jane was a sweet, beautiful and accomplished girl of sixteen. Although so young, she had acquired an unusual amount of book learning, but she had no knowledge of matters of State, and had accepted the crown much against her inclination. There had been no Queen "regnant" in England before this, and it was a part of Northumberland's plan that his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, should be crowned King and rule conjointly with Lady Jane. She, however, resolutely refused to sanction such a proceeding; "*her husband,*" she said, "*could only be crowned by Act of Parliament.*"

2. **Northumberland's plot fails, and Mary is proclaimed Queen.** Meanwhile all England had declared for Mary. In Norfolk, 30,000 volunteers had gathered round her; in

Cheshire, Lord Derby, the most powerful of the Old Lords, was marching south with 20,000 men, while Sir Peter Carew, "*the very hope and stay of the Western Protestants*," had proclaimed her in the towns of Devonshire. Even the troops sent under the Earl of Warwick to arrest her, turned against their leader, while the fleet, which was stationed at Yarmouth to prevent her escape to the continent, also declared in her favour. Northumberland saw at once the necessity of obtaining possession of Mary's person. By lavish promises of pay he raised a large body of troops and marched against the Princess himself. But the Londoners had no sympathy with his cause, and as he passed out of London, he remarked in a despairing tone: "*The people crowd to see us, but no one cries, God speed.*" His departure was the signal for a general outbreak on the part of the citizens, and most of the members of the Council made common cause with the rioters. Northumberland's army gradually melted away, and on reaching Cambridge, he "threw his cap into the air and proclaimed the Lady Mary." The next day he was arrested by Mary's orders and sent, together with his son, to the Tower. Shortly after, Mary was proclaimed Queen in London, amidst "*bell ringing, bonfires and shouts of applause*," and the Lady Jane, who had been a mere tool in the hands of her scheming father-in-law, after reigning only thirteen days, passed from a throne to a prison.

NOTE.—The sympathies of the nation were wholly on the side of Mary. She was undoubtedly the rightful heir to the throne, since an Act of Parliament had been passed in 1544 giving back to her and the Princess Elizabeth, their rights to the succession. Her piety and her devotion to the Old Faith, the injuries and wrongs, which she had patiently endured for twenty years, had won for her the respect of the nation. She had been stigmatized as illegitimate by her father, she had lived in comparative seclusion under the strict supervision of officers, she had been denied access to her brother's Court, and at one time even hindered in the exercise of her own religion. Moreover, the majority of the English people hoped that Mary's accession would be the means of settling the religious differences, which had produced so much disorder during the last reign. *Many men did not wish to see England again under Papal supremacy, but most of them did wish to see the Old Faith restored.*

When Mary entered London, she was met by her half-sister Elizabeth, "*riding at the head of 150 horse*," and the two sisters made a triumphal procession through the streets,



amidst the most enthusiastic joy of the citizens. Feeling her position as Queen secure, Mary was inclined to show mercy to the conspirators ; out of a list of twenty-seven, eleven were selected for trial, and only three of these, **Northumberland, Gates and Palmer**, suffered the extreme penalty. Northumberland could expect no mercy, and so he was executed at once. His last days betrayed the insincerity and meanness of his character. He made the most craven appeals for pardon, and on the scaffold declared "*that he had in reality been a Catholic all his life, and that he died in the Old Religion.*"

**Lady Jane Grey**, her husband and her father, the Duke of Suffolk, were all imprisoned in the Tower, but at the time Mary had no intention of putting them to death ; indeed, Suffolk was shortly afterwards liberated.

3. **Character of Mary.** Mary was in her thirty-eighth year, when she ascended the throne, but she was prematurely old owing to weak health. "She wore a grave and sedate aspect, and had a piercing eye, and a deep-toned masculine voice." She was deeply religious, but the long course of ill-usage, to which she had been subjected, made her suspicious, ill-tempered and morose. She was zealously attached to the Old Faith, and had been taught to believe that her mother's disgrace and her own ill-treatment were caused by the breach with Rome, and the introduction of the New Religion. Her ablest adviser was **Stephen Gardiner**, Bishop of Winchester, but she did not always listen to his advice, and was greatly under the influence of **Simon Renard**, the Spanish ambassador.

## SECTION II.—MARY'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP OF SPAIN.

1. The great aim of Mary's life was *to restore the Roman Catholic Religion, and reconcile England with Rome.* As a step towards the attainment of her object, she listened to the proposal made by Renard, that she should marry her cousin, **Philip of Spain**, son of the Emperor Charles V., and the chief supporter of the Roman Catholics. But the marriage was unpopular from the first. Englishmen felt that their country would become a mere dependency of Spain, that the cruel Inquisition would be introduced, and that England

would be involved in an expensive and unsuccessful war with France, as she had been in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The announcement of the Queen's betrothal to Philip was the signal for simultaneous risings in various parts of England. **Suffolk**, the father of Lady Jane Grey, forgetful of what he owed to Mary for her clemency, stirred up the Midland Counties; **Sir Peter Carew** roused the people of his native county, Devonshire, while **Sir Thomas Wyatt** led an insurrection in Kent. Every one of these attempts proved a failure. Sir Edward Courtenay, a vain foolish young man, revealed the whole plot to Gardiner, and the conspirators were compelled to fly to arms, before their plans were matured. Carew, on being summoned to London, rose in rebellion, but fled to France on the approach of the Royal troops. Suffolk was equally unsuccessful. The people in the Midland Counties refused to rise at his eloquent appeal, and he was compelled to seek shelter in a hollow tree on his own estate, and was subsequently betrayed by one of his own attendants.

2. **Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554**, alone proved formidable. He assembled an army of 10,000 Kentish men at Rochester, and seizing the cannon in the royal ships stationed in the Thames, boldly marched upon London, where he knew that he had many adherents. The forces sent under Norfolk to oppose him, deserted to his cause, crying out, "*A Wyatt! A Wyatt! we are all Englishmen.*" So threatening was the crisis, that it looked as if the negotiations for the marriage would have to be abandoned altogether. But Mary's energy saved the day. Amidst the general consternation of her ministers, she alone stood firm and collected. She rode to the Guildhall and in a stirring speech, spoken in a "*man's voice*," assured the citizens that she would never marry without the consent of Parliament. Her words won the hearts and sympathy of her hearers, and the next morning more than 20,000 men of all ranks—clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and tradesmen—had enrolled themselves for the protection of their Queen and their city. When Wyatt reached London Bridge, he found it strongly guarded and impassable. He was, therefore, compelled to march up the river as far as **Kingston**. Here

he threw his men across the river and entered London on the North. But by this time his army had almost entirely deserted him. With a handful of followers, he madly pushed on to Temple Bar, where he surrendered himself a prisoner to Sir Maurice Berkeley, and was sent to the Tower.

3. **Results.** The failure of this ill-planned rebellion "*sealed the fate of the prisoners in the Tower.*" Mary was determined to be no longer merciful, and proceeded to take vengeance on the innocent and guilty alike. Renard, writing to his royal master, Philip II., said "*that the Queen's blood was up.*" She readily consented to the death of Lady Jane Grey and her husband, and they were executed on the unsubstantiated charge of having been concerned in the rebellion. Lady Jane's life had been spared as a pledge of the loyalty of the family of Suffolk; but, Renard now told the Queen that, "as long as the Lady Jane lived, there was no hope of the marriage being consummated." The Duke of Suffolk fell unpitied. His ingratitude to the Queen, his disregard for his daughter's safety, and his meanness in seeking forgiveness by the accusation of others, "*had sharpened the public indignation against him.*" Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Sir Thomas Grey, brother of the Duke of Suffolk, also suffered on the scaffold. Gardiner and Renard tried every expedient to implicate the Princess Elizabeth, and although Wyatt on the scaffold declared that she was in no way connected with the insurrection, she was lodged a prisoner in the Tower. Her popularity, however, was too great to allow her to be put to death on any evidence which did not clearly prove her guilt. Subsequently she was placed under the charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield at Woodstock. All obstacles being now removed, Parliament gave its consent to the marriage and the Queen and Philip were married at Winchester. The marriage was, however, purely a matter of political expediency, designed to be a set-off to the marriage between the Dauphin of France and Mary, Queen of Scots. It was, moreover, a wretched one from the very first, since Philip cared little for his bride, who was twelve years his senior, and neither healthy nor good-looking.

NOTE.—The marriage contract stipulated:—1. That Philip should receive the title of King, but Mary should have the sole administration of the affairs, and revenues in England; 2. That

no foreigner should hold any office in England; 3. That England should not be involved in any war with France, or with any of the dominions of Spain.

### SECTION III.—RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION AND THE MARIAN PERSECUTION.

1. **The Roman Catholic Religion is restored, 1554.** The suppression of these insurrections, and Mary's marriage with Philip had so strengthened her position that she was enabled to carry out the great aim of her life, *the reconciliation of England with Rome*. Already she had released from confinement Bishops Gardiner and Bonner, who had been prisoners in the Tower since 1547. Some of the leading English divines, who had taken a prominent part in the religious movement during the last reign, foreseeing the impending danger, fled the country; others, including Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper and Latimer, remained at their posts, and were arrested and thrown into prison. The Mass was restored, and married clergy deprived of their benefices. In 1554 the new Parliament met at Westminster, and as the sheriffs had been ordered to return members of "*a wise, grave and Catholic sort*," the result was that the sympathies of the House were wholly enlisted on the side of the Romanists. Negotiations were immediately opened with the long-exiled Cardinal Pole, and his attainder at once repealed.

Shortly after, Pole himself came to London as Papal Legate, sailing up the Thames to Whitehall, with a large silver cross—the emblem of his office—gleaming from the prow of his barge. Mary welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm; "*she felt more joy at his coming*," she said, "*than the day she ascended the throne*." On St. Andrew's Day, the King and Queen and the members of Parliament assembled at Whitehall, and there on their knees received absolution from the Cardinal, "for the sin of heresy and schism," and were again admitted into the bosom of the Holy Church. All the statutes, which had been passed against the Pope since the 20th year of Henry VIII., were now repealed, but the monastic lands were allowed to remain in the hands of their present owners. The people accepted all these changes

without opposition. *They had opposed the Queen's marriage with Philip, but they did not oppose the restoration of the Old Religion.*

The question, which now occupied Mary's mind was, how to deal with those who refused to conform to the Old Faith. Toleration in those days was not even dreamt of, and so the persecuting statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V., "De Heretico Comburendo," were re-enacted. *From this moment the burning of Protestants began.*

2. **The Marian Persecution.** In 1555, Cardinal Pole issued orders that a register should be kept in every diocese, in which the names of those, who recanted and obtained absolution, were to be recorded. Those, who did not comply by Easter Day, were to suffer the severest penalty. At the same time, Gardiner as president, assisted by Bonner and Tunstall, and thirteen other Bishops, opened a court at St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, for the trial of the "heretics." *The tests proposed were the Doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Pope's Supremacy.*

**Rogers**, Prebendary of St. Paul's, was the first victim, and was burnt at Smithfield. Bidding farewell to his wife, whom he met with her nine little children while on his way to the stake, he was greeted with cheers from the assembled multitude, and died with unflinching heroism, bathing his hands in the flame "*as if it had been cold water.*"

**Hooper**, Bishop of Gloucester, was condemned to be burnt in the city, where he had preached his "pernicious doctrines." He died after suffering the most excruciating torture for three-quarters of an hour.

**Rowland Taylor**, rector of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was condemned to death in London, but sent to his own county to die. "When the journey was over, 'What place is this,' he asked, 'and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered together?' It was answered: 'It is Oldham Common, the place where you must suffer, and the people are come to look upon you.' Then said he, 'Thanked be God, I am even at home!' . . . But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears and cried, saying 'God save thee, good Dr. Taylor; God strengthen thee and help thee;



the Holy Ghost comfort thee!’ He wished, but was not suffered, to speak. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand on, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together and his eyes towards heaven, and so let himself be burned. One of the executioners cruelly cast a faggot at him, which hit upon his head and brake his face that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor: ‘O, friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?’ One more act of brutality brought his sufferings to an end. So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till one of the bystanders with a halberd struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.”

Ridley and Latimer were sent to Oxford to be tried. Both denied the doctrine of the “Real Presence” in the Holy Sacrament, and were condemned to death. They were chained back to back to the same stake, and so perished. “*Play the man, Master Ridley,*” cried Latimer, as the fire was lighted, “*we shall this day light such a candle in England as I trust, by God’s grace, shall never be put out.*”

Cranmer was the next victim. As he had been consecrated before England broke with the Pope, his case was tried and sentence passed against him at Rome. He was then degraded from his office, and his priestly robes torn from him. He was a man of real piety, but “sore broken in studies” and morally weak and vacillating. Lured on by the hope of saving his life, he made no less than six abject recantations of his opinions, in some of which he confessed that he was like “the penitent thief on the Cross,” in others that he was the cause of all the evils that had fallen upon the country. But the Queen had no mercy for the man, who had sat in judgment on her mother, and pronounced her divorce, and so in spite of his many recantations, she was determined that he should die. As a final triumph of his enemies over their fallen and degraded foe, it was arranged that he should make a formal and public confession of all his errors in St. Mary’s Church, Oxford. But the sight of the doom, which awaited him, revived his dormant courage. In a brief speech he said that he withdrew all his recantations, and declared that he had



made up his mind to die in the Reformed Faith. "I come," said he, "to the great thing, which sò much troubleth my conscience. I renounce and refuse all such bills and papers, as I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And as my hand offended, my hand, therefore, shall first be punished, and shall be first burnt. As for the Pope, I utterly refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine." His cruel persecutors had evidently outwitted themselves. Amidst the general astonishment he was hurried off to the stake, and when the fire was kindled he steadily held his right hand, which had signed his recantations, in the midst of the leaping flames, exclaiming all the time "*This hand hath offended*"; and so "*he never stirred nor cried till life was gone.*"

The persecution lasted two years longer after the death of Cranmer. Altogether there suffered at the stake about 300 persons, including five bishops, several women, and even children; many others were punished by imprisonment, fines and confiscations. The burnings were almost all confined to the east and the south-eastern parts of England, where the Protestants were most numerous. In the diocese of London, Bonner burnt 128; in that of Canterbury, Pole sent 53 to the stake; while Hopton, Bishop of Norwich, is responsible for the death of 46. The heroism displayed by these martyrs, who were some of the most pious and fervent of the Protestant party, defeated the very end for which the persecution was intended, and practically converted England to Protestantism. "*Within these twelve months,*" wrote some one to Bonner, "*you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank Papists.*" Even Philip, by the mouth of his chaplain, Alphonso à Castro, in a sermon before the Court, denounced the persecution and disclaimed all share in it.

3. **Popular discontent.** The feelings of the people were roused by these horrible doings, but as it was known that Philip was waiting for a pretext to land Spanish troops in England,

it was deemed imprudent to hazard an insurrection. Many of the younger noblemen fled to France, where they tried to excite plots and rebellions. Two futile conspiracies may be mentioned :—(1) **The Dudley conspiracy.** This was a plot formed by Sir Harry Dudley, and other young noblemen, to depose Mary and raise Elizabeth to the throne. It failed, and nearly cost the life of the Princess Elizabeth. (2) **The Stafford conspiracy.** Thomas Stafford was the grandson of the last Duke of Buckingham. He sailed from Dieppe with a small body of men, seized Scarborough Castle, and published a proclamation as "Protector and Governor of the Realm." He was, however, immediately arrested and put to death together with his followers.

Mary's attempts to re-establish the monasteries met with little success. She replaced some of the monks and friars and gave them back part of their lands. She even attempted to restore to the Church the lands, which had belonged to it before the dissolution of the monasteries, and which her father had appropriated, but as these lands were divided among no less than 40,000 new owners, Parliament very wisely refused to sanction any attempt to restore them.

4. **War with France and loss of Calais, 1558.** In 1555 Philip left England. He had been called away by his father, Charles V., who was broken in health and had resolved to abdicate his throne. On the death of his father he became the most powerful prince in Europe. Two years later he returned to England to induce Mary to assist him in his war against France. The pretext assigned for this war was that France had given aid to the English exiles in their attempts to dethrone Mary. Philip gained a decisive victory over the French at the battle of **St. Quentin** (1557), but the detachment of English troops, which Mary had sent to assist Philip, did not arrive in time to share the glory. In the winter of 1558 the French swooped down upon Calais with an army of 25,000 men under the **Duke of Guise**. The Governor, **Lord Wentworth**, was an excellent soldier, but the walls were out of repair, and the town was at this time of the year insufficiently garrisoned, as it was the custom of the English Government to withdraw most of the troops in the autumn for the sake of economy. To meet such a crisis the country was wholly unprepared. The war was in itself unpopular,

money could only be collected with the greatest difficulty from forced loans and illegal duties, and the royal treasury was drained in restoring Colleges and Churches. Again and again during the month of December, Wentworth wrote urgent letters to England for reinforcements, but the Queen replied "*that she had received intelligence, that no enterprise was intended against Calais and therefore reinforcements were not needed.*" Besides, Mary's Council was too busy with persecutions to attend to any military or naval matters. As no help came from England, Calais, after a few days' siege, was compelled to yield, and "*the brightest jewel in the English crown,*" as Calais was then held to be, was irrevocably lost, after having been in the hands of the English for 211 years. The loss of Calais was a great blow to Mary. It told upon her health, and she is reported to have said to one of her ladies, that when she was dead, "*they would find the word 'Calais' written on her heart.*"

5. **Death of Mary.** Mary's last days were full of gloom and sorrow. She was hated by her subjects, and deserted by her husband; and although she had laboured hard to bring back England to the Old Faith, she was on bad terms with the Pope. Moreover, she was stricken down by a fatal disease, and lingered on for ten months, the victim of intense and prolonged suffering. Still she continued in her course of persecution, believing that her cause was just and right, and hoping that Heaven might yet be gracious to her. In her will she left her money to monks and friars, and magnanimously spent her last moments in securing the succession of her sister Elizabeth to the throne. She died on the 17th of November, and she was buried, not in her royal robes, but in the garb of a nun. Two days after her death, Cardinal Pole, who had been deprived of his Legatine authority by the Pope on a charge of heresy, also breathed his last.

ELIZABETH, 1558—1603 (45 years).

Title: Daughter of Henry VIII.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—DIFFICULTIES OF ELIZABETH'S  
POSITION, AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT  
RELIGIOUS QUESTION.**

Accession and Character of Elizabeth. Settlement of the Religious Question. Religious changes introduced; Act of Supremacy; Act of Uniformity; Thirty-nine Articles of Religion ratified. Difficulties with the Bishops and Clergy. Elizabeth and the Puritans. Difficulties with France and Spain.

**SECTION II.—THE RIVALRY BETWEEN ELIZABETH  
AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

The Reformation in Scotland. Treaty of Edinburgh. Mary, Queen of Scots returns to Scotland. Character of Mary. She marries Darnley. Murder of Darnley. Mary's flight into England. Roman Catholic Plots in favour of Mary. Plots of the Duke of Norfolk, and of Ridolfi. Relations with Spain and France. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Jesuit intrigues and Throgmorton's Plot. The Band of Association. Leicester's expedition to Holland. Battle of Zutphen. Babington's Plot, and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.

### SECTION III.—ELIZABETH'S TRIUMPH OVER SPAIN AND CLOSE OF HER REIGN.

War with Spain. Causes. Adventures of Drake and Hawkins. Philip's preparations for the Armada. Preparations made in England. English and Spanish ships compared. Defeat and destruction of the Armada. Results of the victory. The Spanish war is continued. Attempts at English Colonization. The Poor Law. Irish Affairs. Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. Execution of Essex. Conquest of Ireland by Montjoy. Elizabeth and her Parliament. Death of Elizabeth. General survey of the Tudor Period.

#### NAMES OF NOTE.

(a) **Statesmen and Courtiers**:—William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Sir Francis Walsingham; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

(b) **Naval Commanders and Distinguished Seamen**:—Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Francis Drake; Sir Walter Raleigh; Martin Frobisher; Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

(c) **Writers**:—William Shakespeare; Edmund Spenser; Richard Hooker; Sir Francis Bacon; Sir Philip Sidney; Christopher Marlowe; Ben Jonson; Sir Walter Raleigh.

(d) **Other names**:—Archbishop Parker; John Knox; John Calvin; Mary, Queen of Scots; Lord Darnley; Duke of Norfolk; Anthony Babington; Edmund Campion; Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone.

#### LEADING DATES.

Accession of Elizabeth . . . . .	1558
Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity . . . . .	1559
Escape of Mary into England . . . . .	1568
Papal Excommunication of Elizabeth . . . . .	1570
Massacre of St. Bartholomew . . . . .	1572
Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots . . . . .	1587
Defeat of the Armada . . . . .	1588
Rebellion of O'Neil . . . . .	1595
Establishment of East India Company . . . . .	1600
Monopolies withdrawn . . . . .	1601
Death of Elizabeth . . . . .	1603



**SECTION I.—DIFFICULTIES OF ELIZABETH'S POSITION, AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT RELIGIOUS QUESTION.**

**1. Accession and Character of Elizabeth.** Elizabeth ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of all Englishmen, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. At the time of her sister's death she was at Hatfield, whither a number of the Lords of the Council hastened to salute her as Queen. As a woman Elizabeth had many and great faults, as a queen and stateswoman she commands our highest admiration. From her father she inherited a strong will and an indomitable courage, marked self-possession, together with keen political foresight; from her mother she had an inordinate fondness for gaiety, fine dress, and coquetry. She had been trained in the school of adversity; for the last five years of her life she had been in constant dread of being accused of heresy or treason, but by her extreme caution she managed to pass through the troublesome time of Mary's reign unharmed. She delighted in out-door life and exercise, particularly in hunting, and betrayed a special fondness for dancing, masques and plays. Like all the Tudors, she had a weakness for state magnificence, and nothing gave her greater pleasure than going on royal progress, visiting the mansions of country noblemen, and winning popularity from all classes of society. She had been well educated. Roger Ascham, her schoolmaster, tells us that she spoke French and Italian as fluently as she did English, and that she also had a fair knowledge of Latin and Greek.

In many things she was parsimonious to excess, but in the matter of dress, she was most extravagant. Her vanity was unbounded; no flattery was too gross for her. She had no notion of fear, and when her life was in danger from the Roman Catholics, and the would-be assassins were known to be lurking in her very household, she refused to give an order for the removal of Roman Catholics from her Court.

In her diplomatic relations she had a clear view of the state of affairs around her, but a rooted dislike to making up her mind what course she should pursue. She "counted too much on Fortune," and practised the most shameless duplicity together with an utter disregard for truth.

Her aims were obvious and simple ; *to keep her throne secure, to restore religious order by establishing outward uniformity, to keep England out of war, and render her free from foreign enemies.* If in carrying out these aims she did not hesitate to adopt a most unscrupulous policy, we must remember that she was,—as she herself said—“only a weak woman,” surrounded by crafty and powerful enemies. But in spite of her many difficulties and dangers, she guided England successfully through a most critical period of her history, and left her subjects prosperous and contented.

One noble trait in her character was, that she was always devoted to the interests of her people, and this perhaps more than anything else was the secret of her great popularity. “*No worldly thing under the sun,*” she said to her first Parliament, “*is so dear to me as the love and good-will of my people.*”

In her choice of ministers, she showed the greatest prudence and penetration of character. She gave her confidence to **Sir William Cecil**, who had already done good service to Edward and Mary, and was now Secretary of State. She entertained the highest opinion of his wisdom and integrity. “This judgment I have of you,” she said, “that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State, and that without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel, which you think best.” Her other ministers were **Sir Nicholas Bacon**, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and **Sir Francis Walsingham**, who became her private secretary.

2. **Settlement of the Religious Question.** From the very first, Elizabeth was beset with the greatest difficulties on the “Religious Question.” In England there were two strongly opposed religious parties ; the **Roman Catholic** party still in power and embracing a large majority of the nation, and the **Ultra-Protestant** party, who were little better than religious fanatics, eagerly waiting for an opportunity to overthrow everything which Mary had done, and carry on the Protestant movement to its utmost limit. But Elizabeth, following her father’s middle line of policy, and recognizing the utter failures of the policy pursued by Edward VI. and Mary, was determined to favour neither of these parties. She refused to place herself in the hands of

the extreme Romanists, and become the "slave of the Pope," or to adopt the newest doctrines, which the Ultra-Protestants had learnt from the Swiss and German Reformers. "*I will do,*" she told the Spanish ambassador, "*as my father did.*" At the same time she did not wish to offend either party. Her one great object was to induce all men to conform outwardly at least to one Established Church, while "*opinion,*" she said, "*might be left to each man's individual conscience.*" As long as people attended Church every Sunday, and did not attack the established system of religion, they might hold whatever religious opinions they pleased. She had very little real religious feeling herself, but she saw how necessary it was for the welfare of the State, that there should be *one Church established on a broad basis*, which should retain as much of the Old Religion as would please the Roman Catholics, and at the same time favour the introduction of such innovations as would give encouragement and satisfaction to the Reformers. She persistently upheld this policy to the very end of her reign, and she had the satisfaction of knowing that her settlement of religious matters—the "*via media*"—as it is called, was accepted by the mass of the people.

3. **Religious changes introduced.** Elizabeth's First Parliament met in June, 1559, and was strongly Protestant in character. It passed the following Acts:—

(1) **An Act of Supremacy, 1559**, by which the title of "*Supreme Governor of the Realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as temporal*" was conferred on the Queen instead of that of "*Supreme Head of the Church,*" which Henry VIII. had claimed. This change was made to conciliate the Roman Catholics.

**NOTE.**—By this Act all ecclesiastics, all temporal officers and all graduates of the Universities were compelled to take the Oath of Supremacy, and the penalty for upholding any foreign jurisdiction was, for the third offence, the death of a traitor.

(2) **An Act of Uniformity, 1559**, (a) forbidding the use of any other form of public prayer than that of the "*Second Book of Edward VI.,*" (b) compelling all persons inhabiting the realms to attend Church on Sunday under a fine of 1s. By this Act the use of the Mass was finally abolished.

NOTE.—To make the Prayer Book the more acceptable to the Roman Catholics several significant alterations were made. Of these the most important was, the omission of a petition in the Litany, praying “for the deliverance from the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities.”

(3) The **First Fruits**, which Mary had resigned, were again restored to the Crown, and the monasteries, which she had restored, suppressed.

(4) Lastly the **forty-two Articles of Religion** of Edward VI.'s reign were reduced to **thirty-nine**, and carefully revised so as to make them as little offensive as possible to the adherents of the Old Faith (1563).

NOTE 1.—By these Acts all the work of Mary's reign was completely undone, the power of the Pope abolished in England, and the “Church of England” again separated from the Church of Rome.

NOTE 2.—A body of Commissioners (afterwards called the **High Commission Court**) was appointed to enforce the power of the Crown in matters relating to the Church. “It consisted of forty persons, twelve of whom were bishops, and was empowered to inquire into all offences against the existing ecclesiastical system; to punish persons absenting themselves from church; to reform errors, heresies and schisms, which might be reformed according to the laws of the realm; to deprive all beneficed clergy, who held opinions contrary to the doctrinal articles; to punish all immoralities and disorders in marriage, and all grievous offences punishable by the ecclesiastical laws.”—(RANSOME).

Under the Stuarts, this Court became most tyrannical, and was abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641.

4. **Difficulties with the Bishops and Clergy.** The Bishops, who had been appointed by Mary, being staunch Roman Catholics, not only refused to accept the new order of things, but firmly withstood the new Queen, and even refused to officiate at her coronation. At last, however, **Oglethorpe**, Bishop of Carlisle, was prevailed upon to perform the ceremony. When the Oath of Supremacy was tendered to them, all except one refused to accept it, and were deprived of their sees. Elizabeth, however, took care that the new Bishops should be men of moderate Protestant views, and not likely to raise any opposition to her wishes. About 200 of the lesser clergy, out of a total of 9,000, also refused to take

the oath and were displaced. The death of Cardinal Pole had left the see of Canterbury vacant, and Elizabeth selected **Matthew Parker** as his successor, a wise and prudent man, whose judicious rule contributed in no small degree to confirm the Elizabethan settlement of religious matters.

Archbishop Parker first turned his attention to the restoration of order and discipline in the services of the Church. In some dioceses many of the parishes were without clergymen, the churches had fallen into a state of dilapidation, and there was a general lack of "decency and order," in the performance of Divine service. The officiating clergy wore just what vestments they pleased, while the "communion table," which had taken the place of the old "stone altar," was often only a bare board placed on trestles. The people were found to be "*utterly void of religion, and went to church as to a May-game.*"

In his work of establishing uniformity and order, the Archbishop was steadily supported by the Queen, and in ten years we find that almost all the moderate Roman Catholics had conformed to the English Church. This they were able to do with all the better conscience, because as yet, *the Pope had not excommunicated Elizabeth, or released her subjects from their allegiance to her.*

5. **Elizabeth and the Puritans.** Parker's chief trouble lay in dealing with the exiles, who had returned from Germany and Switzerland. During the Marian Persecution, these men in their devotion to the Reformed Faith had escaped to the Continent, where they were warmly received by the great French Protestant, **John Calvin**, who had founded a "model" Church at Geneva. Here he taught his doctrine of predestination, and established a rigid system of Church organization and discipline. He rejected the office of Bishops, and elected "presbyters," some of whom were to officiate as "ministers" of God's word, others to enforce morality of the strictest kind. Separate congregations were to elect representatives and send them to "synods," which were recognized as the highest authority. This system, which [was called "Presbyterianism," found its way into many other countries; notably France and Scotland.



The followers of Calvin conducted their religious services with the utmost simplicity, rejecting all rites and ceremonies, which they did not find in the New Testament. They strove after greater purity of life, doctrine and worship, and were called in England, **Puritans**. They had so strongly imbibed the opinions of their great leader, that on their return from the Continent, they refused to accept the Church, as established by Elizabeth, regarding it as little better than the Roman Catholic Church itself. They objected to ecclesiastical vestments, the sign of the cross in baptism, the adornment of churches with pictures, statues, and stained windows, the government of the Church by bishops, set forms of prayer, and kneeling at the Communion. But although they disapproved of so much that was in the Church, they still remained within its pale. Their disapproval, however, soon took the form of open opposition, which not even the fiercest hand of persecution could suppress.

(a) In 1565, Archbishop Parker issued a series of orders to the Clergy, called "*Parker's Advertisements*," directing them to "wear a comely surplice with sleeves." About thirty of the London clergy refused to comply with this order, and were deprived of their benefices.

(b) In 1570, **Thomas Cartwright**, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was expelled from his Professorship, for holding extreme Puritan views. He had studied at Geneva, and returned to England with a firm belief in Calvin's opinions. He laid down his views in a book called, "*An Admonition to Parliament*," in which he scurrilously attacked the Book of Common Prayer, and denounced Episcopacy, as "Anti-Christian, devilish, and contrary to the Scriptures." His opinions were widely spread, and led to the formation of large bodies of Presbyterians in the Church.

(c) Parker died in 1575, and was succeeded by **Edward Grindal**, who soon came into conflict with the Court, by refusing to suppress "Propheesyings." These were meetings of the Clergy and laity, held for the purpose of discussing the Scriptures. They met with the approval of the Puritans, who considered them "as a notable spur unto all the

ministers to apply to their books, which otherwise would give themselves to hawking, hunting, cards, tippling at the ale-house, and other such like vanities." But Elizabeth, being under the impression that they were conducted by unlearned persons, ordered Grindal to stop them. The Archbishop, however, owing to his sympathy for the Puritans, refused, and was suspended from his office, and died in 1583 in disgrace. "Prophesyings" were afterwards forbidden by royal proclamation.

(d) Grindal was succeeded by **John Whitgift**, who was a man of very different temper to his predecessor, and determined, with the assistance of the High Commission Court, to support the Queen, in enforcing uniformity. His high-handed proceedings against the Puritans called forth the "*Martin Marprelate Tracts*," a series of anonymous pamphlets, issued from a secret press, and full of the most virulent and libellous language against the Bishops. **John Penry**, a fanatical Welshman, was suspected of having a share in writing these tracts, and perished on the scaffold "for libel and inciting to rebellion."

(e) But there were many men of bolder spirit, who went a step further, and broke away from the Church altogether. Their leader was **Robert Brown**, a clergyman, who maintained that it was the duty of all true Christians to separate themselves from the Church, and to form separate and "independent" congregations of their own, which should not be subject to any outside control whatever. His followers were on this account called "*Independents*," but they were also known by the name of "*Brownists*," from their founder, and "*Sectaries*" or "*Separatists*." Another off-shoot of the Puritan body was the "*Anabaptists*," so called, because they held that those baptized as infants ought to be baptized over again as adults. Several Anabaptists were burnt in this reign for their opinions. But in spite of the most rigorous persecution, the Puritans proved themselves to be some of Elizabeth's most staunch supporters. A certain Puritan, whose hand had been cut off by royal order, waved the mutilated limb over his head, and cried out, "*God save Queen Elizabeth!*"

NOTE.—In the bitter controversy which raged between the Church of England and the Puritans about religious “ceremonies and discipline,” the great champion of the Church was **Richard Hooker**, Master of the Temple. In 1593, Hooker published his famous book on the “*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*,” in which he defended the Church-system against the attacks of the Puritans, maintaining that the “practices” of the Church, being sanctioned by long-continued usage and general utility, ought not to be condemned, because the authority for their use could not be directly proved from the Scriptures, since *the laws of God were to be found in the natural laws of the world, as well as in the letter of Holy Writ.*

## 6. Difficulties with France and Spain.

(1) With **France**. At the time of Elizabeth’s accession the military resources of England were very weak. She possessed no real standing army, and her soldiers were, compared with those of France and Spain, badly armed and badly trained. Although Elizabeth had set her heart on regaining Calais, she was compelled to abandon the idea and make peace with France, obtaining from Henry II. the French King, a promise that the town should be restored in eight years. The marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots with Francis, the Dauphin, had considerably strengthened the French King’s position, since many Roman Catholics, both in England and abroad, considered Mary as the rightful heir to the English throne.

(2) With **Spain**. Elizabeth had a far more dangerous enemy to fear in the person of Philip II. of Spain, who was at this time the most powerful sovereign in Europe, and the recognized head of the Roman Catholics. Philip was determined to put down Protestantism, and many men thought it would be impossible for Elizabeth to make any religious changes in favour of Protestantism in England, without incurring the anger of the Spanish King. But however much Philip might dislike England and Protestantism, he did not wish to see the English throne occupied by Mary, Queen of Scots, who might one day unite the three crowns of England, Scotland and France, and prove a very formidable neighbour.

Elizabeth knew that neither Philip of Spain, nor Henry of France had any very special regard for her, but she also knew that neither of them would, from a feeling of jealousy, allow the other to pursue any policy detrimental to her

interests. It was this knowledge that enabled her to use her diplomatic skill to the best advantage, and play off the two kings one against the other.

NOTE.—Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis. In 1559, the long war between France and Spain came to an end, and peace was concluded by the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis. During the festivities, which were held in honour of the peace, Henry II. was killed in a tournament, and Francis II. became king.

## SECTION II.—THE RIVALRY BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The dangers, which threatened England, however, were not so much from France and Spain as from Scotland. When Elizabeth came to the throne she found that country in very close alliance with France owing to the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with Francis the Dauphin. Mary was the representative of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., and stood next to Elizabeth in the line of succession to the English throne. Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, was acting as Regent for the young Queen during her absence in France.

1. **The Reformation in Scotland.** Meanwhile the Reformation was making rapid strides in Scotland. As in England the charges of indolence, excessive wealth, luxurious living and even open profligacy were laid against the clergy and with just reason. Most of the nobles had warmly espoused the Protestant cause; anarchy followed and the country was divided into two parties, the Roman Catholic party embracing the Regent and the Clergy, the Protestant party supported by the nobles. Being unable to maintain order, the Regent had garrisoned many of the strongest fortresses with French troops, and actually attempted to establish a standing army of French soldiers, much to the disgust of the Scottish people.

In 1557 some of the Scottish Lords, known as the "*Lords of the Congregation*," issued a document called the **First Covenant**, in which they bound themselves "*to uphold God's word and defend His congregation to the death*." They were urged on by **John Knox**, the sternest and bravest of all the Calvinistic Reformers, who had just returned from Geneva. Knox was the son of a poor burgher

of Haddington, and had joined the Reforming party in the reign of Henry VIII., and approved of the murder of **Cardinal Beaton** (see page 301). At the capture of St. Andrew's Castle, by the French, he was taken prisoner and sent to the French galleys, but he regained his liberty and came to England. Subsequently he went to Geneva, and became an ardent disciple of Calvin. On his return to his native country he devoted all his energy to the forwarding of the Reformation on the lines which Calvin had laid down. His preaching was of the most vehement character. He taught that the "*Pope was Anti-Christ and the Mass an abominable idolatry.*" He possessed the power of rousing the enthusiasm of his hearers almost to madness. After one of his sermons at **Perth** a riot occurred, the images in the Churches were destroyed, the Mass suppressed, and several monasteries burnt to the ground. To prevent the recurrence of such proceedings, the Regent sent French troops into the town, whereupon the "Lords of the Congregation" took up arms, drove out the French from Fifeshire, and took possession of Edinburgh. Both parties now sought assistance outside Scotland; the Regent appealed to France, the Reformers begged Elizabeth to help them. But in spite of the earnest appeals of the Scots, Elizabeth was slow in sending them assistance. She disapproved of subjects rising against their sovereign, and she hated John Knox, because he had written a book against Mary of England, entitled "*The Monstrous Regimen of Women,*" maintaining that no woman was fit to govern. When, however, Elizabeth found that the Regent was receiving fresh troops from France, and forming an army sufficiently strong to place the whole of the power in her hands, and even to invade England, she made a treaty with the Protestant Lords at **Berwick, 1560**, by which she promised to assist them in driving the French army out of Scotland. As soon as the English fleet from England arrived with troops, the French took refuge in Leith, where they were besieged by the allied Scotch and English forces.

2. **Death of the Regent and Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560.** The same year the Regent died; Leith surrendered and peace was concluded at the **Treaty of Edinburgh**, by which it was agreed: (1) that all the French troops should withdraw



from Scotland ; (2) that the government should, during the Queen's absence, be placed in the hands of a council of twelve nobles chosen partly by the Queen, and partly by the Estates ; (3) that all matters relating to religion should be settled by the Parliament ; (4) that the King and Queen of France should no longer make any claim to the crown of England, or bear the coat of arms of that kingdom.

Mary refused to ratify this Treaty, but the Parliament met and passed the following Acts : (1) that the use of the Mass should be prohibited, and the Papal jurisdiction abolished in Scotland ; (2) that the standard of religious doctrine should be the "Confession of Faith" of the Church of Geneva, and that all other Acts, which authorized any other forms of religious worship should be repealed. *In this way Protestantism became the established religion of Scotland.*

3. **Mary returns to Scotland, 1561.** In 1560 Francis died, after having reigned but one year, leaving his young and beautiful wife, a widow. His brother, Charles IX., succeeded him, but being too young to govern, his mother, Catherine de Medicis, was appointed Regent. Meanwhile ambassadors had been sent from Scotland urging the widowed Queen to return home. Although she was smarting under the slights she had received from the Queen-mother of France, and felt that France was no longer her home, she left her adopted country with a sad and sorrowful heart. She asked Elizabeth to grant her safe conduct through England, but Elizabeth would not grant her request, unless she would accept the Treaty of Edinburgh, and renounce her claim to the English throne. This Mary refused to do, and so English ships were sent out to intercept her passage, but she eluded them and reached Scotland in safety.

4. **Character of Mary.** Mary, Queen of Scots was one of the most remarkable women of her time. She was the daughter of James V. of Scotland, and after the Battle of Pinkie, had been sent to France, where she was carefully educated with the children of the French King, and acquired great proficiency in Latin, Greek and Italian. She delighted in hunting, hawking and open-air exercise, and loved a life of hazard and adventure. She had the courage, strength and endurance of a man ; after her defeat at Langside she galloped sixty miles without a pause except to change

horses. She was even heard to say that, "she wished she was a man to know what life it was to lie all night in the field, or to walk on the causeway with a buckler and a broadsword." Her matchless beauty, her exquisite grace of manner, the warmth of her affection, her frankness of speech, the amiability of her temper, her womanly nature and her manly courage gave her an irresistible charm over men. The Scottish nobles said "*she possessed some enchantment, whereby they were bewitched.*" Even Knollys, the sternest Puritan of his day, declared her to be "a very notable woman."

As an astute politician she equalled Elizabeth, and like her great rival she could be hard-hearted, unscrupulous and even cruel. Like Elizabeth, too, she was vain and ambitious, and fond of power. But she failed to understand the temper of her people, and was never in the true sense of the word a popular queen. She was unwavering in her devotion to the Roman Catholic religion, but had very little real religious feeling. She showed an indomitable courage and untiring energy in striving to undo the work of the Reformation in Scotland, and so gained many bitter and implacable enemies. *But the one great aim of her life seems to have been to secure for herself the English Crown, and this led her into innumerable troubles, and finally to death on the scaffold.*

Mary was welcomed back to Scotland by the Roman Catholic party, who thought that she would restore the Old Religion. But she was powerless to stem the tide of the Reformation, and for four years she quietly accepted things as they were, asking only for liberty of worship in her own private chapel. Meanwhile Knox thundered against her and her "idolatrous practices." He denounced "her skipping and dancing as not very comely for honest women." "One mass," he said, "*was more terrible to him than ten thousand armed enemies.*" When Mary found that she could gain little support from Scotland in carrying out her plans, she turned her attention to England, where she knew that many men, who were in high position, regarded her as the rightful heir to the English throne, and were her staunch friends. Her ardent wish was that Elizabeth would openly acknowledge her right. This, however, Elizabeth resolutely refused to do. "*I am not so foolish,*" was her indignant reply to Mary's

request, "*as to hang a winding sheet before my eyes.*" Such a course would have exposed her to the dagger of every fanatical assassin, who wished to clear the way for a Roman Catholic sovereign. Thus it was that the two Queens, although apparently on the best of terms with each other, were in reality the most bitter enemies.

5. **Mary marries Darnley, 1565.** It was of the utmost importance politically, who should be the husband of Mary. At first negotiations were set on foot with a view to her marrying **Don Carlos**, son of Phillip II., but they were broken off because of his extreme youth. She then asked the advice of Elizabeth, who strange to say recommended her "favourite," **Robert Dudley**, and got over the difficulty of his inferiority in rank, by creating him Earl of Leicester. Mary, however, rejected Elizabeth's advice, and married her cousin, **Lord Darnley**. Mary's right to the English throne was by this marriage still further strengthened, since Darnley himself was, after Mary, the next in succession to both the Scottish and the English thrones. Darnley was a man of handsome exterior, but vicious and dissolute. He treated the Queen with gross cruelty and neglect, and they had not been married a few months, before it was evident that the Queen grew to hate her husband, and showed her hatred by refusing him the "crown matrimonial." Moreover, Darnley had neither liking nor capacity for politics, and so Mary sought the assistance of **David Rizzio**, an Italian musician, who had come over with the ambassador of Savoy. From his knowledge of foreign languages, Rizzio was enabled to carry on the Queen's correspondence with continental sovereigns, and soon became invaluable to Mary as her confidential adviser. But his increased intimacy with the Queen roused the fierce jealousy of Darnley. After the barbarous Scottish fashion he formed a plot between his kindred and the Douglasses to murder the favourite. One evening, when Mary was entertaining Rizzio at supper at Holyrood, the conspirators burst into the room, seized Rizzio while clinging to the Queen's dress for protection, and dragged him into the ante-chamber, and there barbarously stabbed him with their daggers. Mary was overwhelmed with grief at the death of her favourite, but she soon recovered her self-possession, dried her tears, and vowed vengeance on the murderers. By kind

words and fond caresses she won over her worthless husband; the conspiracy was broken up and the murderers sought refuge in England, where they were received by Elizabeth.

6. **Murder of Darnley, 1567.** Three months after, Mary gave birth to a son, James VI., afterwards James I. of England. This event still further strengthened her claim to the English throne. The number of her friends in England had so increased, "*that whole counties were ready to rebel in her favour.*" The English Parliament was alive to the gravity of the situation. They saw that the only way of counter-acting Mary's claim was by prevailing upon Elizabeth to marry. But there were many difficulties in the way of her marriage. A marriage with a *foreigner* would have offended the whole English nation; if she married a *Roman Catholic* it would in all probability overthrow all that had been done for the Protestant settlement; on the other hand if she gave her hand to a *Protestant* it would drive all the Roman Catholics to side with Mary; and above all she was too jealous of her rights as sovereign ever to share them with a husband. For these reasons she probably thought it politic not to marry at all.

Meanwhile Mary sacrificed all chance of gaining her ambitious ends by a blind passion of revenge on her husband. She had become deeply enamoured of **James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell**, a powerful young Border Lord, and a man of fiery, reckless, and unscrupulous character, and she was heard to say, "*that unless she was freed of her husband in some way, she had no pleasure to live.*" In her attempt to get rid of her husband, she found a ready and willing accomplice in Bothwell. Induced by Bothwell, a knot of discontented nobles signed an agreement that "Darnley should be put off by one way or another, and, whosoever should take the deed in hand, they should defend it as themselves." Darnley had just recovered from an attack of small-pox, and while convalescent was removed by Mary herself to a lonely house, the Kirk-o-Field, situated on the southern side of the old town of Edinburgh. One night the burghers were roused by a terrible explosion, and on rushing out of the city found that the house, where Darnley lay, had been blown up, and his lifeless body lying in a neighbouring orchard, "with no signs of fire upon it."

Although Mary offered a reward for the apprehension of the murderers of her husband, public opinion was fearlessly and plainly expressed on a placard, which was posted on the door of the Tolbooth prison, declaring that Darnley had been murdered by Bothwell, and that the Queen was an accomplice. Lennox, Darnley's father, publicly accused Bothwell of the deed, and a day was fixed for his trial, but the royal favourite was too powerful a noble to be punished by the ordinary process of the law. On the day appointed for the trial, he appeared in the streets of Edinburgh with his armed retainers, and as Lennox was afraid to prosecute, the court declared Bothwell to be acquitted. A few days after he seized the Queen, as she was returning from a visit to her son, and carried her off "with a show of violence" to Dunbar Castle, and three weeks later married her.

Mary's supposed complicity in her husband's murder, and her unwise marriage with Bothwell proved her ruin. The whole nation rose against her. She tried to conciliate them by prohibiting the celebration of mass, and attending Protestant sermons, but to no purpose. At **Carberry Hill**, Bothwell and his vassals met the forces of the Scottish Lords, but his troops refused to fight, and so he was compelled to fly to Denmark, where he died in prison. Mary surrendered herself a prisoner, and was led in a piteous plight through the streets of Edinburgh, amidst the defiant yells and execrations of an infuriated populace, and a display of banners, on which was depicted her son in the act of calling for vengeance on the murderers of his father!

Mary could expect no mercy. She was condemned to life-long imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, a strong fortress in the midst of Loch Leven, and compelled to sign her abdication in favour of her infant son. The Earl of Murray was to act as Regent during the King's minority.

During her eleven months' imprisonment, Mary intrigued with the Roman Catholic nobles, and at last managed to escape by night from Lochleven Castle. The powerful Roman Catholic house of the **Hamiltons** rallied round her, and having collected an army, met the forces of the Regent at **Langside**. In the battle which followed, she was utterly routed, and after riding for her life a distance of sixty miles, crossed the



Solway Firth in a fishing boat into Cumberland, resolved to throw herself upon Elizabeth's clemency.

Mary's presence in England proved a source of great embarrassment to Elizabeth. She asked Elizabeth to assist her in regaining her throne, or allow her a safe passage through England into France. Elizabeth was in a dilemma. If the Scottish Queen was detained in England, she would be the cause of many a Roman Catholic conspiracy, since she was the next in the line of succession to the English crown; and if she was allowed to return to France, her presence in that country would strengthen the old alliance between France and Scotland. Elizabeth was therefore determined to adopt her usual line of policy of "hesitation and delay," in the hope that time and circumstances would present some way out of the difficulty. At the same time she told Mary that she could not give her any assistance, until the charge of complicity in her husband's murder was cleared away. To do this, Murray and the Scottish Lords met the Commissioners appointed by Elizabeth at York. A series of letters, called the "Casket Letters" (because they were found in a silver casket, accidentally left behind by Bothwell at Edinburgh Castle), was produced by the Scottish Lords as proofs of Mary's guilt. They were said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, and if genuine, they prove beyond a doubt that Mary was guilty of complicity in her husband's death, but Mary from first to last maintained that they were forgeries. Mary appealed to Elizabeth for a personal interview, but this Elizabeth refused to grant, maintaining that she could not receive her "without manifest blemish of her own honour." Finally, as Elizabeth had no particular desire to investigate the case further, she ordered the conference to be broken up, and Mary to be placed in confinement at Tutbury, although no decision had been given by her judges against her.

7. **Plots in favour of Mary.** For the next eighteen years, England was in a constant state of unrest from plots and rebellions, the object of which was *to depose Elizabeth and raise Mary to the throne*. During this long period the wretched captive was doomed to drag out a weary existence, moved about from castle to castle under the strictest super-

vision of gaolers. As she herself had forebodingly said "*if they kept her in prison, they should have enough to do with her.*"

(1) **Plot of the Duke of Norfolk, and revolt of the Northern Earls, 1569.** Mary's right to the throne encouraged her to intrigue with some discontented English noblemen in the North of England, where the love for the Old Religion was still strong. It was arranged that she should marry the **Duke of Norfolk**, the leader of the Roman Catholic party; that there should be a general rising of the Roman Catholics throughout England, and with the aid of a Spanish army, Elizabeth should be deposed and Mary placed on the throne. Norfolk, however, was suspected of intriguing with Mary with a view to marry her, and was immediately sent to the Tower. The other rebel Lords, Northumberland and Westmoreland, were summoned to London to answer for their conduct, but they refused to obey, and having called together their retainers after the manner of the old Feudal Barons, raised the standard of rebellion. The rising was purely a religious one, its object being the restoration of the Old Religion, and the Pope sanctioned the enterprise by bestowing on it his blessing. Marching on Durham, the insurgents seized the town, and having entered the cathedral, destroyed the English Bible and Prayer Book, and caused the Latin mass once more to be celebrated in the presence of an immense gathering of Roman Catholics. They then marched south in the hope of securing the person of Mary, who was at the time a prisoner in Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire, but on the approach of the royal forces, under Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, the rebel leaders lost heart, and, disbanding their troops, fled over the border. Mary was hastily removed to Coventry to prevent her from falling into the hands of the rebels. Terrible severity was meted out to the captured insurgents; no less than 700 were summarily hanged in the market towns and villages between the Wharfe and the Tyne. *This was the last attempt made to check the progress of the Reformation by force of arms.* Elizabeth's position was now stronger than ever.

(2) **The Ridolfi Plot, 1572.** In 1570, Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth, declared her to be no longer Queen

*of England, and released all English subjects from their allegiance to her.* The publication of this Bull gave fresh impetus to the Roman Catholic conspiracies. A few months after its issue, a copy of the Bull was posted by a daring Roman Catholic, named Felton, on the door of the Bishop of London's house. Felton was arrested, and after severe torture executed. But his bold deed clearly proved that every man in England, if he remained true to the Pope, must of necessity be a traitor to Elizabeth. Many of the more violent and fanatical spirits accepted the papal decree, while the more moderate of the party remained loyal to the Queen, in spite of the many persecutions to which they were subject. The Parliament was more devoted to Elizabeth than ever, and passed the most severe laws against Roman Catholics and the introduction of Papal Bulls.

Meanwhile a conspiracy was set on foot by the Duke of Norfolk, known as the **Ridolfi Plot**. The Duke had obtained his freedom on promise of renouncing his intention of marrying Mary, but he now entered into treasonable correspondence with Philip of Spain with a view to seize or even murder Elizabeth, and then marry Mary. Their agent was a certain Ridolfi, an Italian banker, resident in London, who was enabled, in virtue of his business, to visit the Netherlands, Spain or Italy without suspicion. Philip promised to send assistance the moment that Norfolk appeared in arms. The plot was, however, badly planned. Some of the papers of the conspirators fell into Cecil's hands, by means of which he was enabled to discover what was going on, and bring the conspirators to justice. Norfolk and Arundel were convicted of treason and executed. The Parliament even urged Elizabeth to consent to the death of Mary, but she refused, and allowed the Queen to linger on in captivity unharmed. She wisely refrained from declaring war against Spain, although she had the clearest proof that Philip was implicated in the conspiracy. She was anxious to put off the crisis as long as possible, and yet she showed her anger by sending the Spanish ambassador out of the country.

8. **Relations with Spain and France.** The discovery of the Ridolfi plot proved beyond a doubt that Philip was the real enemy of England. He was the recognized leader of the

Roman Catholics in Europe, and would gladly have given assistance to the discontented English Roman Catholics had he been in a position to do so. But fortunately for England, he was just at this time engaged in crushing a formidable rebellion in the Netherlands, and could not spare a single soldier. He had striven his utmost to stamp out Protestantism, and establish Romanism and absolute rule in that country. But the people rose against their oppressor, and he was compelled to send the **Duke of Alva**, a great but cruel soldier, to crush the rebellion. Town after town fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and the inhabitants were cruelly put to the sword. At last the rebels cut the dykes, and flooded all the low-lying country, and Alva was so disgusted with the failure of his attempt, that he returned to Spain. The rebellion proved a great advantage to England; it saved England from a Spanish invasion, it weakened Philip's power in the Netherlands, and drove 30,000 weavers to seek refuge in England, bringing with them their skill and art in weaving.

The hostility of Spain towards England compelled Elizabeth to seek an alliance with France. She had already expressed a wish to marry Henry, Duke of Anjou, but the negotiations had been broken off. In her anxiety to establish cordial relations with the two countries, she now entertained thoughts of marrying Anjou's brother, Francis, the Duke of Alençon, although he was a youth twenty-one years younger than herself, contemptible in character and intellect and repulsive in his appearance. Absurd as the idea of the marriage was, it had the effect of strengthening the alliance with France, and widening the breach with Spain.

One thing, however, almost severed the French alliance, and that was the **Massacre of St. Bartholomew**. In 1572 Catherine de Medicis, the mother of Charles IX., fearing lest the Huguenots were becoming too powerful, terrified her son into a belief that they were conspiring against him. Accordingly he gave orders for a general massacre of the Huguenots, and on the night of the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, the blood-thirsty mob of Paris slaughtered no less than 20,000 Protestants. The same deeds of horror were perpetrated at Orleans, Rouen and Bordeaux.

In England the news of these atrocities excited universal horror. Elizabeth stormed against the French Court, but did no more, fearing lest a hostile policy would drive France to form an alliance with Spain.

Thus it was that while France was fully occupied with the suppression of the Huguenots, and Spain with crushing the rebellious Dutch, Elizabeth escaped from the dangers, which threatened her, and several years elapsed, before she was compelled to draw the sword and fight for her crown.

9. **The Jesuit intrigues and Throgmorton's plot.** Meanwhile, England was every day becoming more and more Protestant, and men witnessed with sorrow the decay of the Old Religion and the establishment of the New. Some went into voluntary exile, and among the number was **William Allen**, the son of a Lancashire gentleman. Allen founded a college at Douay in Flanders (subsequently removed to Rheims) for the training of young English Roman Catholics, who should return to their native country as "seminary priests," and endeavour to rekindle the zeal of English Romanists, and keep their wavering countrymen in the Old Faith. The more fanatical among their number encouraged by the Papal Bull of 1570, taught their followers to feign loyalty to the Queen, and even practice conformity to the Church, but to be ready when the signal was given from the Continent to assassinate Elizabeth, and take up arms in favour of Mary of Scots.

In 1580 Robert Parsons, a Jesuit missionary, landed at Dover, disguised in a soldier's garb, and soon began to make his influence as a cool-headed intriguer felt. Shortly after, he was joined by **Edmund Campion**, the most noble minded and enthusiastic of all the English Jesuits. These two men went all over England, making converts, saying mass, hearing confessions and encouraging the vacillating Romanists to remain true to their faith. The success, which attended their efforts, roused the Parliament to action, and a series of coercive laws, known as the "Recusancy Laws," was passed, *by which it was enacted that all who refused to attend the Established Church should be fined £20 a month.* Even these rigorous measures were deemed insufficient, and so the government was determined to make a stern example.



Campion was arrested and condemned to death for treason, on the ground that he refused to deny the Pope's right to depose princes. After having been subjected to the most cruel torture, he was led to the Tower amidst the execrations of the mob, with a paper stuck in his hat, bearing the words, "Campion, the seditious Jesuit." He was afterwards hanged at Tyburn. Parsons, his associate, fled to the continent, where he continued to devise new plots against Elizabeth.

The effects of the Jesuit movement in England were seen in the **Throgmorton Plot**, 1584. This was a widely spread conspiracy to murder Elizabeth and set Mary on the throne. The Duke of Guise had prepared a large army in France, and Philip of Spain had another ready in the Netherlands, and it was arranged that as soon as Elizabeth had been assassinated, these two armies should unite and invade England under the protection of the Spanish fleet. But Walsingham's spies soon detected the whole plot, and Throgmorton was arrested and executed. On the rack he disclosed the names of the chief Roman Catholic conspirators, and shortly after Elizabeth summoned Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, into her presence, and promptly ordered him to leave the country. War with Spain was now inevitable, and Elizabeth began to prepare for the struggle.

One great result of the discovery of this conspiracy was the **Bond of Association**, 1584, drawn up by Burleigh and Walsingham, in which men of all classes, irrespective of creed, pledged themselves not only to defend the Queen, but "in the event of her murder to put to death the person on whose behalf the crime was committed." The "Bond of Association" told the conspirators in plain language, that if Elizabeth was assassinated, Mary would be sent to the block. In 1585 the "Association," with some modifications, was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and at the same time an Act was passed banishing all Jesuits and seminary priests, and inflicting death on any if they returned.

NOTE.—Leicester's expedition to Holland, 1585. Meanwhile Philip's power had been gradually increasing in the Netherlands. The Dutch had lost their great leader, William of Orange, who fell by the dagger of a fanatical assassin, Balthazar Gerard, hired by Spanish gold. The Duke of Parma had captured the great port

of Antwerp, and in their despair the Dutch, having appealed in vain to the King of France, offered to make Elizabeth their Sovereign if she would help them. She very wisely refused the offer, but sent her favourite, Leicester, a totally incompetent general, with an army of 7,000 men to assist the Dutch, but without the money necessary for their support.

The most memorable event in the war was the battle of Zutphen (1586), where a body of Englishmen numbering only 500 made a gallant and heroic charge against the whole Spanish army, and retired without much harm. In the action, however, Sir Philip Sidney, poet, romance-writer, courtier, soldier, and the most popular and accomplished Englishman of his day, received his death-wound. Leicester was prevailed upon by the Dutch to accept the position of States-General, but by so doing he incurred the Queen's displeasure, and was ordered to resign his post. He then quarrelled with the Dutch, calling them "*churls*" and "*tinkers*," and on receiving no support from Elizabeth he returned to England in disgust, leaving the Dutch to fight for themselves.

10. **Babington's Plot and the Execution of Mary Stewart, 1586.** The delay of the Spanish invasion and the failure of the Roman Catholic plots encouraged Mary, Queen of Scots, to play her last card. Elizabeth had allowed many young Roman Catholics to remain at Court, and among them was **Anthony Babington**, a gentleman of Derbyshire. Instigated by John Ballard, a seminary priest, Babington and a few other desperate Roman Catholics, formed a plot to murder Elizabeth in her own palace. The plot was hatched in London. Babington was foolish enough to send the imprisoned Queen every detail of the plot, and Mary wrote to Babington giving her consent to the scheme. But through the agency of Walsingham's spies, Mary's letters were intercepted; Babington, Ballard and five others were arrested, convicted and put to death. *The "Babington Plot" sealed Mary's doom.* The whole nation, not satisfied with the execution of Babington and his confederates, clamoured for Mary's death. She was removed under close custody to **Fotheringay Castle**, near Peterborough, and there put on her trial before a special commission of peers. The charge was that of encouraging a Roman Catholic rising and a Spanish invasion, and of complicity in Babington's plot. She was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death. A few days after, Parliament met, and urged the Queen to put the sentence into immediate execution. "We have seen,"

said the Lords and Commons, "by how manifold, most dangerous and execrable practices, Mary, commonly called the Queen of Scots, hath compassed the destruction of your Majesty's sacred person, bringing us and this noble crown back again into the thralldom of the Romish tyranny, and utterly ruining and overthrowing the happy state and commonwealth of this realm. We, therefore, humbly beseech your Highness to take speedy order to execute the sentence, because we cannot find any means to provide for your safety, but by the speedy execution of the said Queen." Although she knew that Mary's death would remove the danger, which threatened her own life, Elizabeth shrank from the responsibility of sending to the scaffold a Queen who was her own cousin, and had sought her protection, and she dreaded the effect, which her execution might produce throughout Europe. After three months' pitiable hesitation, she signed the death-warrant, but was cowardly enough to urge Sir Amyas Paulet, Mary's gaoler, to murder his prisoner secretly, and thus relieve her from the odium, which a public execution might cause. Paulet refused, and the Council, weary of waiting, authorized Davison, the Secretary of State, to despatch the warrant at once to Fotheringay.

Mary met her fate with dignity and courage. On the scaffold she declared "that she died a true woman to her religion, to Scotland and to France." As soon as the news of her death reached Elizabeth, she protested that the execution had been carried out against her wishes, and made a scape-goat of her minister, Davison, by dismissing him from office and fining him heavily.

*To the greater part of the nation Mary's death seemed a political necessity.* The public joy was unbounded; bonfires were lighted, and bells rung as if for a victory. Men no longer feared that Elizabeth would be assassinated, or that there would be Catholic risings in England to assist a foreign invader. James VI. of Scotland simply made a formal protest against her death, but did nothing, which might take away his chance of succeeding peaceably to the throne of England. The family of the Guises in France were too deeply embroiled in their civil wars with Henry III. and the Huguenots to think of avenging Mary's death. *Only Philip of Spain undertook the task, and how signally he failed has now to be told.*

### SECTION III.—ELIZABETH'S TRIUMPH OVER SPAIN AND CLOSE OF HER REIGN.

1. **The War with Spain. Causes.** At last, after nearly twenty years of threatened hostility, the two countries, England and Spain, stood face to face as open and declared enemies. In the struggle, which followed, both nations put forth their utmost energies. But besides the mere wish of avenging Mary's death, there were other causes, which urged Philip on to make war upon England. (a) Mary, Queen of Scots, had by will bequeathed her claim to the English throne, not to her son, James VI. of Scotland, but to Philip, and he now began to make active preparations to assert his claim. (b) Elizabeth had sent assistance to the Dutch, who were at this time in open rebellion against the Spanish government. (c) Philip was desirous of crushing England, because she was the leading Protestant Power in Europe. (d) Lastly the English "sea-dogs," as the buccaneer captains were called, had committed terrible ravages on the Spanish treasure ships. At this time, the commerce of Spain was immense, and as her richly laden galleons passed up the English Channel on their way from the West Indies to Antwerp, they fell an easy prey to the English "sea-dogs," who darted forth from every English port and attacked them with their swift and well-armed cruisers.

Moreover, Pope Alexander VI. had granted the whole of the New World to the Spaniards and Portuguese as their exclusive right, but the English sailors would not recognize this wholesale parcelling out of the newly discovered lands, and so they organized piratical expeditions, and attacked and plundered the Spanish settlements, wherever they found them. The Spaniards retaliated by hanging the English sailors, or by flinging them into the dungeons of the Inquisition, "*laden with irons, without light of sun or moon,*" and leaving them to die of starvation. For these reasons a bitter hatred sprang up between the seamen of the two nations, and Philip saw that the only way to protect the trade and settlements of Spain was to crush England's power at sea.

NOTE.—The most distinguished of English seamen at this time were Francis Drake, John Hawkins and Martin Frobisher. Drake was born at Tavistock, and in 1572 sailed with two small ships from Plymouth with the intention of landing at Nombre de Dios, a port on the isthmus of Darien, “where the golden harvest brought from Peru and Mexico was hoarded up, till it could be conveyed to Spain.” Having taken the town, he seized “great stacks of silver bars, and heaps of gold, pearls and jewels.” But before leaving, he ascended a high mountain, and from the top of a tall tree, which grew on its summit, surveyed with rapture the wide expanse of the Pacific, as it lay stretched out before him. He prayed “that God would give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship on that sea, wherein no English ship had sailed before.”

In 1577 Drake set sail on his most memorable voyage. His little fleet consisted of five ships, the largest of which, the *Pelican*, was only 100 tons burden. Crossing the Atlantic he boldly pushed his way through the dangerous Straits of Magellan, into the unknown waters of the Pacific. Here he encountered terrible weather, and lost all his ships except the *Pelican*. Making his way along the Western coast of South America he committed frightful devastation on the unsuspecting and unprotected Spaniards, plundering their wealthy settlements, capturing treasure ships, and seizing all the gold, silver, pearls and precious stones he could lay hands on. On his voyage he fell in with and captured the great Lima galleon, which was conveying to Cadiz one year’s produce from the South American gold and silver mines.

Drake then sailed across the Pacific to Java, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and finally dropped anchor in Plymouth harbour, laden with spoil to the value of at least half a million. At Deptford, Elizabeth visited the freebooter in his own ship, gave him an honourable reception, and dubbed him knight. He was the first commander who circumnavigated the globe, Magellan, his predecessor, having died in the attempt.

Philip demanded satisfaction for the injury done to the Spaniards, but no heed was paid to his demands. At the time, public indignation was so roused against the Spaniards, on account of the Jesuit plots, that Elizabeth answered Philip with fair words and promises, but continued to give encouragement to the freebooter.

After the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador from England, Philip laid an embargo upon all English ships, and Drake was sent by Elizabeth with a fleet of twenty-five ships to make reprisals on Spain. He plundered the town of Vigo, and crossing the Atlantic, stormed and sacked many Spanish settlements, and returned to England laden with spoil.

Sir John Hawkins was the originator of the slave trade. In 1562 he fitted out a fleet of three ships, with which he sailed to the coast of Guinea. Here he obtained a cargo of slaves by violence and purchase, and having sailed across the Atlantic, sold them to the Spanish planters in the West Indies.



He returned to England a rich man, and two years afterwards with the assistance of Elizabeth he equipped a larger fleet for the same purpose. The nefarious traffic, which Hawkins started, was carried on most vigorously for upwards of 200 years.

- 2. Philip's preparation for the Armada.** Spain was at this time the most powerful nation in Europe. Besides the Spanish Peninsula she possessed Milan, Naples, and the great commercial countries of the Netherlands. In America, "Columbus had given her a New World"; Mexico and Peru had been conquered by the two great Spanish generals, Cortez and Pizarro, and poured their boundless stores of gold and silver into her treasury; while the West Indies sent to her busy ports their rich and varied productions. Her navy and mercantile marine were immense, her generals were unequalled in military skill and experience, and her soldiers were the best the world had seen since the days of the Roman Empire.

With such unlimited resources at his command, Philip began to get ready his "Invincible Armada"—as the foolish Spaniards named his great fleet—for the conquest of England. At the various seaports of Spain, Portugal, Naples and Sicily every available ship-of-war was manned and equipped, while in the Netherlands the Duke of Parma was ordered to have an army in readiness to make a descent on England, the moment the Spanish fleet should have secured the Straits of Dover. Whilst Philip was busy with these preparations, Drake set sail with twenty-four ships to Cadiz, and entering the harbour of that city, destroyed no less than thirty vessels and vast quantities of provisions. This exploit, which he facetiously called "*singeing the King of Spain's beard*," delayed the expedition a whole year, and proved of incalculable value to England, as it gave her time to get her navy ready for sea.

- 3. Preparations made in England.** Meanwhile in England preparations for opposing the Armada went on apace. An army of 70,000 men was rapidly organized, and a strong force of militia posted at Tilbury. Elizabeth displayed a noble and resolute bearing at the crisis; she rode at the head of her troops, animating them with patriotic and stirring words. But the English soldiers were no match for Spanish troops, and so it was resolved to equip a fleet and

fight Philip at sea. The royal navy consisted only of thirty-four ships, but the seaport towns hastily armed and manned 164 merchant vessels and privateers for the service. London showed its zeal in the cause by fitting out thirty ships, double its appointed number.

The "Armada" consisted of 130 vessels, and carried 8,000 seamen and 20,000 soldiers. In number the English ships exceeded the Spanish, but they were smaller in build, more seaworthy and easier to navigate. The Spanish vessels were built on the old pattern, with high decks, and castle-like buildings at prow and stern, offering an unfailing mark to the English gunnery, while the English had adopted an improved style of naval architecture, in which the decks of the ships were comparatively low, and the vessels themselves so constructed as to be able to carry more and heavier artillery.

The crews of the English ships were old and experienced sailors; they had seen much service at sea, and had again and again fought and beaten the Spaniards in America. On the other hand the crews of the Spanish vessels formed the least important of the naval equipment. They were far out-numbered by the soldiers, who considered the invasion of England as the main object of the expedition, and treated the crews as inferiors.

The chief command of the English fleet was given to **Lord Howard of Effingham**, a loyal Roman Catholic, and a capable, brave and cautious officer, and one who was in every way worthy of the high trust and confidence reposed in him. He was ably supported by some of the most renowned seamen in Europe; **Sir Francis Drake** being Vice-Admiral, **Sir John Hawkins** Rear-Admiral, and **Martin Frobisher** the Captain of the *Triumph*, the largest ship in the fleet.

On the eve of sailing, **Admiral Santa Cruz**, the chief commander of the Armada, died, and his place was filled by the young **Duke of Medina Sidonia**, a man of no experience in naval or military matters.

4. **Defeat and Destruction of the Armada, 1588.** At last the Armada sailed out from Corunna, and entered the Channel in the form of a crescent, seven miles in extent. At the time it was sighted, Howard and his captains were playing at bowls on Plymouth Hoe. So confident were they of

victory, that Drake calmly refused to stop the game, saying "*that there was time to finish it and beat the Spaniards too.*" Beacon fires spread the news from Penzance to Berwick, posts hurried from town to town, and the militia was summoned to arms. As the great fleet moved slowly up the Channel, the English captains put to sea. They cleverly avoided coming to close quarters, and for several days hung upon the enemy's rear, pouring their deadly fire into the towering hulks of the Spaniards, and causing terrible destruction among the soldiers crowded upon the decks. So easy of management were the English ships, that they could fire a broadside, and withdraw with little injury to themselves. "*The enemy pursue me,*" wrote Sidonia to Parma, "*they fire upon me from morning to nightfall, but they will not grapple, although I have given them the opportunity.*" The Spanish fleet was terribly handled; some of the vessels were shattered, some sunk, and others, to avoid capture, ran upon the French coast.

Philip's plan was, that his Armada should sail up the Channel to the Straits of Dover, and there protect the Duke of Parma's army in its passage across into England. Accordingly the Spanish fleet dropped anchor in the Calais Roads, and there awaited the arrival of Parma's troops from the Netherlands. But a combined fleet of Dutch and English vessels was blockading the Flemish ports, and Parma could not get his transports out to sea. Meanwhile, the Spaniards had moored their vessels so close to the land that it was found to be impossible to attack them, and so the English Admiral was determined to drive them again into action. During the night he sent six blazing fire-ships among the enemy's vessels, and the panic-stricken Spaniards slipped their cables and drifted once more out to sea. A fierce battle ensued off **Gravelines**, which lasted from nine in the morning till six in the afternoon. Ship after ship was riddled with English shot, and sunk, or ran ashore, and it was only a want of ammunition, which prevented the English from completely annihilating the whole fleet.

Meanwhile the strong gale from the south had increased to a storm, rendering a return to Spain by way of the English Channel impossible, and so the Spaniards had no

other course left them, but to sail round the north of Scotland. "*Nothing pleased me better,*" wrote Drake, "*than seeing the enemy fly with a southerly wind northwards; and I doubt not ere it be long, so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself in Spain among his orange trees.*" The want of ammunition, however, compelled the English to desist from the pursuit, but the elements completed the destruction already begun. The rock-bound coasts of the Orkneys, Hebrides and Ireland were strewn with the wrecks of the ill-fated vessels; upwards of 8,000 Spaniards perished near the Giant's Causeway, and on Sligo Bay, an English captain counted no less than 2,000 bodies of dead Spaniards. Out of the 130 ships, which had so gallantly sailed up the Channel with their captains and crews so confident of victory, only fifty-three shattered hulks straggled back to the ports of northern Spain, and on board these there were 10,000 men stricken down with pestilence and death. Philip bore the disaster with magnanimity. "*I sent you,*" said he to the Admiral, "*to fight with men and not with the elements.*" Elizabeth, in a spirit of gratitude, attributed the success of the expedition to God. She ordered a medal to be struck bearing the inscription, "*Afflavit Deus, et dissipati sunt.*" With the destruction of the Armada, the danger, which for twenty years had threatened England, passed away.

NOTE 1.—Results of the victory: (1) It annihilated the maritime power of Spain; (2) It proved the superiority of England as a naval power, and secured her the command of the sea; (3) It secured the independence of England; she was no longer compelled to accept a foreign sovereign, or a religion, which she did not like; (4) It opened up the New World to our sailors and adventurers, and enabled England to become a great trading and colonizing nation; (5) It made England more Protestant than ever, and greatly increased the hatred of Englishmen for Spain and the Roman Catholic Religion; (6) It led to a continual naval warfare between England and Spain, which although it did a great deal of temporary harm to Spain, was productive of no permanent good to England.

NOTE 2.—The Spanish War is continued. The animosity between the two nations was so bitter, that the war was continued even after the destruction of the Armada. But Elizabeth was too parsimonious to spend much money on fitting out another expedition, and the vessels were generally equipped by private adventurers. Moreover, the English



captains were too eager for plunder, and very foolishly began to fight the Spaniards on land instead of on sea, forgetting that Spanish soldiers were in every way superior to the English. For these reasons nothing great was done, and there are but few facts to relieve the monotony of this uneventful war.

(a) In 1589 Parliament made a liberal grant and urged that the Spaniards should be attacked in their own country by way of reprisals. Drake and Sir John Morris set out with an expedition of 200 vessels and 20,000 men, mostly volunteers, with a view to regain for Don Antonio, one of the Portuguese royal family, the crown of Portugal, which had been held by Philip since 1580. Drake burnt the shipping in the harbour of Corunna, but the Portuguese would lend him no assistance, and after failing in his attack on Lisbon he returned home.

(b) In 1591, Thomas Howard and Sir Richard Grenville, with seven ships, were sent out to intercept the treasure-laden fleet of Spain on its passage home. Lord Thomas, however, fell in with such a powerful Spanish squadron that he prudently retreated, but Sir Richard Grenville, who sailed in the *Revenge*, got separated from the main fleet, and was attacked by the whole Spanish squadron. For fifteen hours he and his 150 men held their own, until at last only twenty survived, and Sir Richard himself having been mortally wounded, the *Revenge* surrendered.

(c) In 1595, Drake and Hawkins sailed to the West Indies, but the Spaniards had been forewarned, and were prepared to receive them. The whole expedition proved a failure. No treasure was captured, Hawkins fell a victim to the fever, and Drake died on the returning voyage, and was buried at sea.

(d) Meanwhile Philip was preparing a second Armada at Cadiz to avenge himself on the English. Adopting Drake's naval tactics, Lord Howard, of Effingham, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, sailed to Cadiz, and entering the harbour, destroyed the fleet at their moorings, took the town by storm, and burnt the naval arsenal. After this, Spain gave up the attempt of a second invasion, and for the remainder of the reign the war languished.

5. **Attempts at English Colonization.** The destruction of the Armada and the war which followed, completely crippled Spain's naval power, and made England supreme at sea. As a natural consequence, English colonization received a great impulse, and many attempts were made to plant English colonies in unoccupied territory.

(a) In 1583 **Sir Humphrey Gilbert**, who ought to be regarded as the "pioneer of English Colonization," obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth, empowering him to establish a settlement in America. Accordingly he landed on the bleak shores of Newfoundland, but the inclemency of the climate and the lawlessness of the settlers compelled him to



return to England. On the homeward voyage his small boat the *Squirrel*, of ten tons, foundered off the Azores, and all on board perished.

(b) In 1584 **Sir Walter Raleigh**, Gilbert's half-brother, set out on an expedition to survey the coast north of Florida. The report of the climate and locality was so favourable that Raleigh decided to establish a colony there, and in honour of Queen Elizabeth he called it "Virginia." The following year a body of colonists was sent out under the charge of Sir Richard Grenville, but the attempt to colonize the country failed, and Drake took the colonists back to England. In 1587 and again in 1590 expeditions were sent out, but both ended disastrously.

(c) Nothing daunted, Raleigh fitted out another expedition and sailed to Guiana, in South America, in the hope of discovering a valuable gold mine, which was said to exist in that region. After sailing a considerable distance up the Orinoco, he abandoned the expedition and returned to England. Subsequently he made other attempts which also proved unsuccessful.

**NOTE.**—The attempts made at Colonization opened up new markets, and greatly extended our foreign trade. Great trading companies, started by private individuals, sprang into existence, among which may be mentioned the "**Turkey Company**" founded in 1581, the "**Russian**" founded in 1566, and above all the afterwards famous "**East India Company**" founded in 1600. In this way the foundation of our foreign trade was laid, which has since grown to such an amazing extent that the number of steam and sailing vessels now registered under the English Flag amount to 11,000, being two-fifths of the shipping of the whole world.

**6. The Poor Law.** Amidst this great increase of commercial prosperity, the utmost distress prevailed in the rural districts. The dissolution of the monasteries, the rise of sheep-farming, and the disbanding of soldiers and sailors had thrown upon the world hordes of vagrants, who became a positive terror to the inhabitants of the country. To remedy this state of things, Henry VIII. made a law that "every able-bodied beggar should be tied to the end of a cart naked, and be beaten with whips till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping." This brutal act was afterwards repealed. In the reign of Edward VI. the clergy were ordered to exhort their congregations to provide for the

maintenance of their own poor by weekly collections in churches. But it was under Elizabeth that the first regular Poor Laws were called into existence. In 1562 the Bishop of each diocese was authorized to enforce the payment of these "Church Collections," and even to determine the sum each man had to pay. *This was the beginning of compulsory assistance for the relief of the poor.*

In 1572 the Poor Law was further re-modelled. Officers were appointed to establish "*suitable habitations for the impotent and aged*," and to find work for those, who were not wholly incapacitated. At the same time rogues and vagabonds were to be punished with the stocks and severe whippings. Finally in 1601 the "Celebrated Poor Law of Elizabeth" was framed and passed. It enacted that the Justices of the Peace should nominate overseers in each parish with powers, (1) To raise by taxation the sums necessary for housing and feeding the indigent and deserving poor in that parish; (2) To compel the able-bodied vagrants to work, and if they refused, to punish or imprison them; (3) To put out pauper children as apprentices. The system seems to have worked well, and continued the basis of the Poor Law till 1834.

7. **Irish Affairs.** The history of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth is the most melancholy page in the life of the great Queen. Following her father's line of policy in trying to bring the whole island under English law and obedience, she had divided the island into shires, placing each under the authority of a sheriff. Nothing, however, was so hateful to the wild Irish as English laws and manners, and whenever the Irish chiefs opposed the royal orders, they were declared traitors and their lands confiscated. Such a policy had the effect of driving the Irish to rebel against the English rule.

In 1579 the **Desmonds of Munster**, assisted by a Spanish force, broke out into rebellion, but they were routed and the Spanish soldiers brutally massacred at **Smerwick**. The lands of the insurgent chiefs were confiscated and parcelled out among the English colonists.

But the Ulster rebellion of **Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone**, was a much more formidable affair. Tyrone was by far the

best general the Irish had as yet had, and for a long time the English could not make headway against him. He overthrew an English army of 5,000 men near the **Blackwater**, and slew their leader, **Sir Henry Bagenal**. All Ireland now rose to assist the man, who was likely to prove the liberator of their race. Tyrone applied to Philip of Spain for aid, and Elizabeth, fearing lest Ireland should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, sent an army of 20,000 men under the command of her greatest favourite, **Robert Devereux**, the young Earl of Essex. Although Essex had had much experience in military affairs, he managed the expedition very badly, and instead of attacking Tyrone in his headquarters in Ulster, wasted his time by conducting a campaign in the south, where he lost half his forces. Conscious of his own weakness, he entered into a humiliating truce with Tyrone, promising that his lands should be restored to him, and that only Irishmen should be appointed to government offices. Suddenly, without leave from his royal mistress, he quitted his post and returned to London, and in his travel-stained clothes rushed into the Queen's apartment, and claimed an audience. Elizabeth was indignant and ordered him into confinement. In 1600, however, he was released, but forbidden to appear at Court, and to punish him further for his misconduct Elizabeth deprived him of the monopoly of sweet wines, remarking "that a stubborn ass must be deprived of his provender." Chafing under the treatment he had experienced at the hands of his royal mistress, and believing that his disgrace was the work of his enemies, Cecil and Raleigh, he entered upon a most violent course of action, fully determined to be revenged upon them, and drive them from office. He collected around him the disaffected of all parties, and headed by a few soldiers sallied forth into the streets of London, calling on the citizens to rise in his favour. But he had reckoned too much on his popularity, and no one responded to his call, and shortly after he was apprehended and thrown into prison. During his trial it was discovered that he had, while he was in Ireland, entered into treasonable correspondence with James VI. of Scotland, and so he was convicted of high treason and beheaded.

**NOTE.**—Conquest of Ireland by Montjoy (1600-1603). Lord Montjoy was sent to Ireland to complete the work of conquest in which Essex had so signally failed. He was a thorough soldier, and by building fortresses in the subdued parts of the country, he successfully kept the people in subjection. In 1601 a Spanish fleet and a small Spanish army came to their assistance and captured Kinsale, but afterwards surrendered the town to the English. Tyrone found that his wild troops were no match for the disciplined forces of Montjoy, and so he submitted.

After three years' hard fighting Ireland was conquered as it had never been conquered before, law and order were restored, but the process was a cruel one. Famine followed, and "it was a common thing to see multitudes of people lying dead of starvation in the ditches of the towns and especially in wasted counties."

8. **Elizabeth and her Parliament.** On the whole, the relations which existed between Elizabeth and her Parliament, were of a very cordial nature compared with those in the next two reigns. At times of great national crisis, the Commons gave her their hearty support, and readily voted supplies. But they were no longer the obsequious body of men, they had been under Henry VIII. They were opposed to her ecclesiastical policy, and advised less vigorous measures towards the Puritans. When they proved contumacious, she did not hesitate to rebuke them sharply, or even to send them to the Tower. As the reign went on, and the Queen grew older, they grew more resolute and self-willed, but still she retained her power of managing them. The war with Ireland had proved most expensive, and in 1601 Elizabeth summoned Parliament and asked for supplies. The Commons raised a loud outcry against monopolies. Elizabeth had from time to time given to her favourites the exclusive right of selling certain articles. This right was called a monopoly and the holder of the right could easily enrich himself by raising the price of the article in question, to the great detriment of trade and the people generally. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, monopolies had become so numerous that the sale of nearly every article of ordinary consumption was in the hands of a private individual. When the list of monopolies was read over before the Commons, a certain member remarked with some bitterness that "*bread*" would soon be among the number, unless the system of monopolies was checked. With her usual insight, Elizabeth saw that the Commons were

determined, and so she wisely gave way before the storm. She announced that all monopolies should be withdrawn, and passed a law by which they were made illegal. A deputation of the Commons waited on her to thank her for her gracious concessions. Her words on this occasion are full of dignity and kindness. She "appealed to the judgment of God that never thought was cherished in her heart that tended not to her people's good." "*Though you have had,*" she said, "*and may have many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving.*" These were her last words to the Commons.

9. **Death of Elizabeth, 1603.** About eighteen months after this remarkable scene, Elizabeth's health began to fail, and it was evident that her end was near. Her ministers were anxious to settle the succession, and although by Henry VIII.'s will, **Edward Seymour**, the grandson of Catherine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey, was the lawful heir to the throne, no one pressed his claim. There were several weighty reasons, which made **James VI. of Scotland**, Elizabeth's most suitable successor. Besides his hereditary right he was a Protestant, and his succession to the English throne would have the advantage of uniting the two countries, England and Scotland, under one sovereign. When, therefore, on her death-bed her ministers mentioned Seymour's name as her successor, she roused herself, and with some energy said, "*I will have no rascal's son to succeed me, but one worthy to be a king; and who,*" she added, "*should that be but our cousin of Scotland.*"

NOTE.—General survey of the Tudor Period. The Tudor Period may be considered as a period of transition from mediæval to modern times.

**Henry VII.** completed the destruction of Feudalism, which the Wars of the Roses had begun. He restored peace and order at home by keeping a firm hand over the barons, and he raised England to a strong and independent position among the states of Europe.

**Henry VIII.** freed England from the power of the Pope, swept away every vestige of the Mediæval Church, and established a national church on a broad basis.

The ministers of **Edward VI.** set on foot a "Revolutionary Protestantism," which ended in anarchy and confusion. **Mary** tried to bring back the "Old Faith," but neither of these courses satisfied the people. They had, however, one beneficial effect, they taught men to hate persecution.



The reign of Elizabeth has rightly been considered as one of the most glorious eras of English History. Under her rule England crushed her powerful enemies abroad, and acquired the supremacy of the sea. Ireland was brought more completely under English rule than it ever had been before, and the foundation of the Union of the English and Scottish crowns was laid. The Great Revival of Learning, the excitement produced by the long-continued struggles of religious parties, and the opening up of newly-discovered lands awakened men to new life and activity. They began to think, write, and act as they had never done before. Their minds were filled with lofty and ennobling thoughts, and they gave to the world great and stirring works of poetry and prose. First and foremost among the numerous writers of this period, stands William Shakspeare our greatest dramatist, who by his wonderful genius, his thorough knowledge of the human heart, his deep wisdom, his ripe judgment, his complete command of his mother-tongue, and above all his sympathy with every form of human suffering brought the drama to perfection. What Shakspeare did for the drama Spenser did for allegory. His *Faerie Queene* tells us in allegorical language the successful struggles of England against her enemies, and the glories of the great Elizabeth. Sir Francis Bacon in his *Novum Organum* gave new life to philosophy and science, while Hooker in the stately and dignified prose of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* undertook, upon political grounds, the defence of the Church of England.

But this "activity" is not only reflected in the literature of the time; it is seen in the clever statesmanship of Elizabeth and her ministers, in the intense love of country, which thrilled the heart of every Englishman, in the glorious victories which our sailors gained over the Spaniards, in the daring adventures of Drake, Raleigh and Hawkins, and their brave followers, and in the many attempts made by Englishmen at colonization.

In Elizabeth's reign the social condition of the people was also greatly improved. Even the Spaniards, who visited the country, were struck with the good fare of the people. "*These English,*" they said, "*have their houses of sticks and dirt, but they fare like kings.*" Now that the civil wars of the Roses were over, and life and property fairly secure, the old baronial castles of the Middle Ages gave way to pleasant manor houses surrounded by beautiful gardens and spacious parks. Glass took the place of horn and lattice-work in the windows, chimneys were used to carry off the smoke, which previously had been allowed to find its way through a hole in the roof. The furniture also was greatly improved. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign even people of the middle-class had nothing but a straw pallet with a "good round log" or a bag of chaff for a pillow, but before many years had passed, good clean bedding was introduced. Pewter plates took the place of wooden ones, and small inn-keepers "served their tables with silver dishes and drinking cups."

JAMES I., 1603—1625 (22 years).

**Title:** Great-grandson of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.  
**Married,** Anne of Denmark.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—ACCESSION OF JAMES I. AND EVENTS  
WHICH IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED IT.**

Character of James I. Religious Parties. The Hampton Court Conference. Plots against James and his Ministers. The Main or Cobham's Plot. The Bye or Surprise Plot. The Gunpowder Plot.

**SECTION II.—THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE  
KING AND THE PARLIAMENT.**

James's First Parliament. Character of the House of Commons. The Commons vindicate their rights. The proposed Union with Scotland. The New Impositions and Bate's Case. Dr. Cowell's Interpreter. The Great Contract. James's Second Parliament, sometimes called the Addled Parliament. The Rule of Favourites—Robert Carr, George Villiers. The Story of Raleigh. The Thirty Years' War. James's Third Parliament. The Question of Monopolies. Impeachment and Fall of Bacon. The Protest of the Commons. The Spanish Marriage. James's Fourth Parliament. Alliance with France.

**NAMES OF NOTE.**

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Sir Walter Raleigh; Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban's; Edward Coke; John Selden; John Pym; Sir Thomas Overbury.

## LEADING DATES.

Accession of James I. . . . .	1603
Hampton Court Conference . . . . .	1604
Gunpowder Plot . . . . .	1605
The Great Contract . . . . .	1610
Impeachment of Lord Bacon . . . . .	1621
Alliance with France . . . . .	1624
Death of James I. . . . .	1625

## SECTION I.—ACCESSION OF JAMES I., AND EVENTS WHICH IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED IT.

1. **Character of James I.** James's personal appearance did not contrast very favourably with the dignified bearing of his Tudor predecessors. Slovenly in his person, coarse and vulgar in his habits, rude in speech, and ridiculously vain and conceited, he failed to win the respect of his subjects. "Never had a sovereign a higher notion of the kingly dignity, and never was any less qualified by nature to sustain it." He was naturally good-natured, endowed with considerable mental powers, and possessed of a vast amount of book knowledge, but he had so little practical wisdom, that Henry IV. of France very aptly described him "*as the wisest fool in Christendom.*" He was, moreover, very obstinate and impatient of advice. He loved flattery, and allowed himself to be easily governed by worthless favourites. His cowardice was such, that "he shuddered at the sight of a drawn sword," and his selfishness rarely allowed him to do anything that was for the good of his subjects.
2. **Religious Parties.** At the time of James's accession there were, broadly speaking, three religious parties in England, all of whom hoped to gain special favour with the new King; (a) The **Puritans**, whose religious opinions agreed in a great measure with those of the Presbyterians, and who trusted that a king, educated in Presbyterian principles would be favourably disposed to their views; (b) The **Roman Catholics**, who fondly dreamed that the son of Mary Stuart would annul all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, and restore the Mass and the power of the Pope in England; (c) The **Episcopalians** or members of the Established Church of England. Of these parties James favoured the

Episcopalians. In Scotland, the Church was governed by Elders, called "*Presbyters*," who in matters of Church Government often acted against the wishes of the King. In England, matters were different. The Church was governed by Bishops, who were appointed by the King, and therefore not likely to oppose him. Hence it was that James considered the Bishops and the Clergy as the mainstay of his throne, and the best defence against disloyalty. Moreover, the thought of becoming "Head of the Church" filled him with admiration for the English Church, and he was determined to give it his whole and undivided support.

3. **The Hampton Court Conference, 1604.** On James's way to London, the "Puritan Party" presented him with the "*Millenary Petition*," so called because it expressed the opinion of 1,000 Puritans. In this petition they complained "*that the Book of Common Prayer was overburdened with human rites and ceremonies*," and asked that they might be excused from using certain ceremonies, such as wearing the surplice and using the ring in marriage, without separating from the Established Church. No mention was made of the abolition of Episcopacy, as had been advocated by Cartwright and the other Puritanical leaders of Elizabeth's time. To discuss the objections, James invited **Reynolds**, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and **Chaderton**, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, both leading Puritans, to meet some of the Bishops, of whom **Bancroft**, Bishop of London, was the most influential.

The conference lasted three days. James took a leading part in the debates, and met the objections raised by the Puritans by his favourite motto, "*No Bishop, no King*." The mention of the word "*Presbytery*" in the course of the discussion roused his anger. He thought at once that it was the wish of the Puritans to establish the Scottish System in England. "*Presbytery*" he cried, with some vehemence, "*agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil*. Stay for me seven years, and then if you find me fat and pursy, I will hearken unto you; but until I am lazy let that alone."

Shortly after this, James broke up the conference, declaring his intention : (1) Of favouring the Church System as

established in England ; (2) Of establishing "one doctrine, one discipline and one religion in substance and ceremony ;" and (3) "Of making the Puritans conform or harry them out of the land." The Puritans left the conference greatly dissatisfied, and from this time began to form separate congregations. Ten of those who presented the petition were imprisoned, by order of the Star Chamber, for sedition and rebellion, and 300 Puritan Clergy were deprived of their livings for refusing to conform.

NOTE.—The only good result of the Conference was that James ordered a new translation of the Bible to be made. Forty-seven divines, including the learned men of both parties, took part in the work, and in 1611 the translation, known as the "*Authorized Version*," was published. The work was founded upon the best translations, which had already been made, and stands a noble monument of the resources, the power, and beauty of the English language.

4. **Plots against James and his Ministers.** (1) **The Main or Cobham's Plot, 1603.** James had retained Elizabeth's ministers with a view to follow her line of policy as much as possible. On his accession he found the leading men split up into two parties ; the "peace party," who wished the war with Spain to be discontinued, and the "war party," who were eager for a continuance of the war. The representative of the peace party was **Sir Robert Cecil** ; that of the war party, **Raleigh**. James, recognizing the abilities of Cecil as a diligent, clear-headed statesman, gave him his confidence, while his natural hatred of war led him to dislike Raleigh and the "war party." Cecil, however, was so unpopular, that many dissatisfied spirits joined Raleigh in his attempt to overthrow that statesman, while **Lord Cobham**, who was also implicated in the plot, went a step further, and *undoubtedly intended to carry out a complete revolution by dethroning the King in favour of Arabella Stuart.*

(2) **The Bye or Surprise Plot, 1603.** Meanwhile, many of the Roman Catholics, smarting under the severity of the then existing penal statutes, and disappointed at obtaining no redress from the new King, entered into a foolish conspiracy to *seize the King and force him by threats of violence to grant toleration.* The leading conspirators in this plot were **William Watson**, a Roman Catholic priest,



**George Brooke**, the brother of Lord Cobham, and **Lord Grey**, a staunch Puritan, who had joined Essex in his insurrection in 1601.

Cecil obtained information of both plots, and caused the conspirators to be arrested. He was determined to make use of his knowledge as a means of crushing not only his rivals, but also those who were dangerous to the government, and so he arranged that the prisoners should be tried as though the two plots were one and the same. Raleigh, whose guilt rested mainly on the somewhat contradictory evidence of Cobham, was committed to the Tower, where he languished for twelve years. Cobham and Grey were imprisoned, and Brooke and Watson hanged.

**NOTE.**—Lady Arabella knew nothing whatever of the designs of the conspirators, and she remained at Court till 1610, when contrary to the King's wishes she privately married **Sir William Seymour**, who was the grandson of Catherine Grey. The union of the two possible claimants to the throne was a source of great apprehension to James, and he ordered her to be confined in the Tower, where her reason gave way, and in 1615 she died mad.

(3) **The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.** The Roman Catholics had failed to gain from James the religious toleration, which they had hoped for, and were still suffering much from the severe "Recusancy Laws." Under these laws they were liable to a fine of £20 a month for non-attendance at the Established Church; if they could not afford to pay this sum, they were deprived of two-thirds of their estates, and if they had no landed property, of their houses and goods. In the summer assizes of 1604 it is stated that no less than 6,400 Recusants were thus punished by law. Moreover Roman Catholic priests, who said Mass, were liable to be put to death.

In 1604 the more desperate of the "Recusants" formed the diabolical plan of blowing up the King and Parliament with gunpowder. The originator of the scheme was **Robert Catesby**, a gentleman of Warwickshire. He disclosed his plot to **Thomas Winter**, **John Wright**, and **Thomas Percy**, a kinsman of the Earl of Northumberland. The conspirators brought over from Flanders a man named **Guy Fawkes**, a Yorkshireman, who had served in the Spanish army in

the Netherlands, and was well-fitted by his coolness and courage to carry out their desperate plan. They then hired a house adjoining the Houses of Parliament and commenced digging through the wall with a view to place the gunpowder in the basement. The wall, however, was found to be no less than nine feet thick, and so proved a very serious obstacle to their attempt. Fortunately the discovery that a cellar immediately under the House was to let rendered any further excavation unnecessary. They hired this cellar and conveyed thither barrels of gunpowder, carefully concealing them with coals and faggots. It was arranged that amidst the general confusion caused by the explosion, there should be a gathering of Roman Catholic gentry at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, and that the Princess Elizabeth, James's little daughter, should be seized and proclaimed Queen. Meanwhile, want of funds compelled the conspirators to add three rich young gentlemen to their number, **Digby**, **Rokewood** and **Tresham**, although the latter was known to be a man of somewhat unreliable character.

But as the 5th of November (the date fixed for the meeting of the Parliament) drew near, some of the less fanatical of the conspirators were anxious to save their friends from the terrible destruction, which awaited them. An anonymous letter—said to have been written by Tresham—was sent to Lord Monteagle, Tresham's brother-in-law, a Roman Catholic peer, warning him "*not to attend the opening of Parliament, but to retire into the country, since Parliament would receive a terrible blow, and yet they should not see who hurt them.*" Monteagle, failing to comprehend the meaning of the letter, sent it to Cecil, who laid it before the King. James at once discovered the secret, and on the night of November 4th, the cellars were searched, and Guy Fawkes discovered, with a dark lantern ready to fire the train. On being arrested he boasted that his object was "*to blow the Scots back to Scotland,*" but on being tortured he lowered his tone, and revealed the names of his accomplices.

As soon as it was known that the plot was discovered, the conspirators fled to **Holbeach House**, in Worcestershire. Here some of them were wounded by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, while others, being surrounded by the

militia forces of the county, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Catesby and Percy fell fighting desperately, pierced by the same bullet; Winter was seized and taken to London, where he was executed. Garnett and three other Jesuit priests were captured while hiding in a chimney in Hindlip Hall, near Worcester, and together with Fawkes perished on the scaffold.

**Results.** The failure of the Gunpowder Plot led to the passing of the most severe penal laws against Roman Catholics: (a) The fines against Recusants were rigidly enforced; (b) Roman Catholics were forbidden to appear at Court, or to live in London unless engaged in trade, or to travel more than five miles from home; (c) No Roman Catholic was allowed to practise as a barrister, physician, judge, clerk, schoolmaster, executor or guardian; (d) Roman Catholics were deprived of all civil rights, and their houses were to be always open to inspection. So intense was the hatred against them, that for many long years they were deemed capable of committing any crime, however atrocious it might be, and anyone, who attempted to remove their disabilities or improve their political position, was sure to become unpopular.

## SECTION II.—THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT.

### 1. James's First Parliament, 1604.

(1) **Character of the House of Commons.** The members of the new House of Commons were for the most part merchants and country gentlemen, who equalled the nobles in wealth, influence, and general knowledge. They were more freely elected and had learned to take a broader view of national matters than the packed Parliaments of the Tudors, and as they had successfully opposed Elizabeth, they did not feel inclined to be submissive to the new Scottish monarch. They claimed for themselves the right to investigate and reform the abuses in the secular government, just as the "Reformers," under the Reformation, had acted with regard to the great religious questions. They also considered it their privilege to express their opinions on matters of State, and even to reprove the King if they thought he was doing wrong. Hallam says

“that they were bold and steady patriots, well read in the laws and records of old times, sensible of the dangers of their country and abuses of government, and conscious that it was their duty to watch over the common weal.”

James, on the other hand, had from his earliest years imbibed exaggerated ideas of the “*right of kings*.” He believed that kings derived their right to rule from Heaven, and that therefore it was impious for their subjects either to question their authority or disobey their commands. He told the Commons that “as it was atheism to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do or say, or that a king cannot do this or that.” He wished to rule as a despotic sovereign just as Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had done before him. But he seems to have forgotten that these sovereigns had always been more or less popular in their government, because they were supported by the people, and that in the time of any great national danger, such as England had just passed through, a single absolute ruler was indispensable, but when the danger was over such a ruler was no longer necessary. Moreover it was James’s misfortune to come to the English throne just at a time when the spirit of popular liberty was making itself felt, and the Commons would brook no interference with their rights and privileges.

(2) **The Commons vindicate their rights.** In the royal proclamation, which convoked the Parliament, James had laid down certain restrictions enabling him to pack a Parliament subservient to his views. One of these restrictions was *that no outlaw should be returned*. It appears that Sir Francis Goodwin, who had been some years previously outlawed, was elected for Buckinghamshire, but James cancelled the election, whereupon Sir John Fortescue was chosen. The Commons, however, warmly took up the case, and after much disputing agreed to a compromise. Both elections were set aside and a new writ issued, but the victory lay with the Commons, and from this time no attempt was made to control them in the exercise of *their right of deciding disputed elections*. At the same time, they also claimed *the right of the members to freedom from arrest*.

(3) **The Proposed Union with Scotland, 1607.** Although James was king of both England and Scotland, the two

kingdoms were entirely "foreign" to each other. James was anxious to see "*one Parliament, one law, one Church, and one nation*," and in 1606 Commissioners were appointed by the King to treat with the Scots about a Union. It was proposed that: (a) Free trade should be established between the two nations; (b) That the hostile border laws should be abolished; (c) And that all Scottish subjects in England should be naturalized.

But the English generally were not favourably inclined to the scheme. They thought that the Old Constitution would be overthrown, by the introduction of "poor and hungry Scots," and they dreaded to see Scotchmen in all the highest and most lucrative posts. The Scots, on the other hand, were opposed to the scheme, because they thought that their country would be in subjection to England. The only good proposals adopted by the Commissioners were: (a) That the hostile border laws should be abolished; (b) And that the rights of naturalization should be given to all Scots, who were "*post-nati*," i.e. born after the King's accession in England.

(4) **The New Impositions and Bate's Case, 1608.** James's lavish expenditure on his Scottish favourites had left him deeply involved in debt. When Cecil became Lord Treasurer, he found the royal debt amounted to £1,300,000, and to raise money to pay off this enormous sum he adopted the illegal plan of increasing the duties on imports and exports. A merchant named Bate refused to pay the "new imposition," as the increased customs were called, and when the case was tried, the judges of the Court of Exchequer, before whom the matter was brought, decided "*that the King had the right of levying impositions without grant from Parliament*." Armed with this decision, James issued, in 1608, a new "Book of Rates," in which the duties on imports and exports were considerably increased, and the revenue raised to £70,000 a year.

The Commons not only protested against the New Impositions, but also against the increased power of the High Commission Court, and the issue of Royal proclamations, which were considered as binding as the law.



**NOTE.**—Dr. Cowell's Interpreter, 1610. Just about this time a Law Dictionary was published by Dr. Cowell, with the private approval of the King, containing certain articles in favour of the absolute power of the sovereign. Both Lords and Commons were highly indignant, and demanded that the author should be punished. James was compelled to give way, and so Cowell's book was suppressed by proclamation, and the author imprisoned.

(5) **The Great Contract, 1610.** James was still very much in debt, and to relieve his necessities Cecil proposed an elaborate scheme called the "Great Contract," by which the King was to give up the antiquated and obnoxious feudal dues, such as aids, purveyance, wardship and marriage, and receive in return £200,000 a year. But a dispute arose over the details of the scheme, and it was abandoned. James in anger dissolved Parliament.

2. **James's Second Parliament, called the Addled Parliament, 1614.** Want of money compelled James in 1614 to summon his Second Parliament. Some of the more influential members, who were friends of the King, fearing lest there should be a repetition of the troubles of the last Parliament, "undertook" to secure the election of members, who would be favourable to the King's views, and persuade the House to give grants to meet the King's necessities. But the "*undertakers*," as these men were called, completely failed in what they attempted to do. As soon as the Commons met, they proceeded to discuss the legality of the New Impositions, and refused to vote a supply, unless the King would grant a redress of grievances. The disputes were so heated that James lost all patience, and dissolved Parliament before a single Act had been passed. For this reason it was nicknamed the "*Addled Parliament*." For seven years (1614-1621) James summoned no Parliament.

**NOTE.**—The Rule of Favourites. The ministry of Cecil had proved so irksome to James, that on the death of that statesman in 1612, he decided to be his own minister, and rule with the help of favourites. "*I would rather have a man of ordinary parts*," he used to say, "*than the rarest man in the world that will not be obedient*." His first favourite was Robert Carr, a handsome and accomplished young Scotchman, who had been a royal page, and had attracted the King's notice at a tilting match. He soon rose in the royal favour, and was made Viscount Rochester, and entrusted with the management of some of the most important business of state. Shortly after, he became

enamoured of the young wife of the Earl of Essex, and the Countess, who returned his passion, tried to get a divorce from her husband under the most shameful circumstances. Rochester was at the time very much under the influence of an able but unscrupulous man named Sir Thomas Overbury. It appears that Overbury raised objections to the marriage on the ground of "the baseness of the woman," and Rochester was determined to get him out of the way. Instigated by the Countess, he persuaded the King to send Overbury on an embassy to Russia, but Overbury refused to accept the appointment, and so he was committed to the Tower. While there he was poisoned by a paid emissary of the Countess, and immediately after a divorce was obtained through the influence of the King, and the guilty parties married with great state, Rochester having been raised to the peerage as Earl of Somerset in honour of the occasion. But the horrible crime soon came to light, and the minor accomplices were tried, convicted and executed; Somerset and his wife were both found guilty and sentenced to death, but their lives were spared, and they were imprisoned. Seven years after, they were released, and spent the remainder of their lives in obscurity.

James's new favourite was George Villiers, the son of a Leicestershire squire. Villiers was a vain, arrogant and ambitious man, but handsome and attractive, and soon acquired a complete control over his royal master. James showered wealth, titles and honours on his minion, and in 1617 created him Earl of Buckingham and Lord High Admiral. The whole nation bowed down before him. Statesmen, lawyers and churchmen all paid court to the favourite in the hope of promotion. But his influence over the nation was not for good, and his foreign policy was weak and vacillating.

3. **The Story of Raleigh.** Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh, the last of the great Elizabethan heroes, was still languishing in prison for supposed complicity in the Bye Plot. In 1617, however, through the influence of Buckingham, he was released in order that he might go in search of a rich gold mine, which was said to exist in Guiana on the banks of the Orinoco. But before sailing, he gave James a promise that he would not molest the Spaniards. After a long and difficult voyage Raleigh dropped anchor in the mouth of the Orinoco, and sent his faithful lieutenant, **Thomas Keymis**, with five ships up the river in search of the mine. The band of adventurers attacked and burnt the Spanish town of St. Thomas, and in the conflict Raleigh's son was killed. Despairing of making any further progress, Keymis returned with the sad news of the death of Raleigh's son and the failure of the expedition. Stung by the reproaches of

Raleigh, Keymis retired to his cabin and put an end to his life. Raleigh then proposed to attack a Spanish treasure-ship, but his captains refused to obey him, and insisted on his immediate return to England. Meanwhile, the Spanish court had informed James of Raleigh's proceedings, and immediately on his landing at Plymouth he was arrested by the King's order. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, demanded that he should be sent to Spain to be tried for piracy, but James, anxious to please the Spanish court, sent him to the block on the former sentence of death, which had been passed upon him in 1603. Raleigh met his end with the greatest courage and constancy, and all his faults seem to have been forgotten in the "tragedy of his death." All England regarded him as a national hero, and his execution as the price paid for the alliance with Spain.

4. **The Thirty Years' War, 1618-48.** Ever since the marriage of **Elizabeth**, daughter of James I. and **Frederick**, the Elector Palatine, the animosity between the Genevan Protestants and Roman Catholics had been intense, and in 1618 a great religious war began to devastate Germany, and spread all over Central Europe.

The war first broke out in **Bohemia**, the stronghold of Protestantism, where the Protestant nobility revolted from their king, Matthias, who was also Emperor of Germany and a Roman Catholic. Shortly after, Matthias died, and Ferdinand of Styria, who was a bigoted Roman Catholic, was elected his successor, but the people of Bohemia refused to acknowledge him, and offered the crown to Frederick, Elector Palatine, which he accepted. This was the signal for a general war between the German Protestants and Roman Catholics. Ferdinand called on the Roman Catholics to assist him in maintaining his rights, while Frederick appealed to the Protestant Powers. Although Frederick's cause was most popular in England, James hated war so much that he would not take any decided action in the movement.

While James was thus undecided, the Roman Catholics under Ferdinand defeated Frederick at the battle of **White Hill**, near Prague, and drove him out of his newly-acquired kingdom, and by the end of the year 1622 they had overrun the Palatinate, and its ruler had become a homeless fugitive.

5. **James's Third Parliament, 1621.** In 1621 James summoned his Third Parliament to ask for a grant of money to assist his son-in-law, Frederick, in recovering his lost territories. He tried to conciliate the members by denouncing the "undertakers" of the Parliament of 1614, "*as being a kind of beast, who undertook to govern Parliament and lead him.*" But the Commons were not to be hoodwinked, and again postponed the grant of money, until there was a redress of grievances.

(1) **The Question of Monopolies.** The first abuse, to which they directed their attention was that of "monopolies." On his accession, James had abolished most of the monopolies, which Elizabeth had left, but since that time they had been steadily increasing. He had introduced them to encourage trade and home manufactures, to compensate for the want of subsidies, and to enrich court favourites. The Commons, on the other hand, condemned monopolies, because they imagined that they existed merely for the purpose of filling the pockets of such men as Buckingham, and secondly, because they were granted by the order of the King alone.

The most obnoxious of these monopolies were those of "licensing inns and ale-houses," and of "manufacturing gold and silver thread." The Commons proceeded to impeach **Sir Francis Mitchell** for holding a large share in the "ale-house patent," and sent him to the Tower. They then attacked **Sir Giles Mompesson**, who held the sole right of manufacturing gold and silver thread. Mompesson fled the country, but the investigation proved that he had practised fraud by making the thread of a baser metal, and he was banished for life. The King pacified the Commons by revoking most of the monopolies, and for a time there was a lull in the storm.

(2) **Impeachment and Fall of Bacon, 1621.** The Commons next turned their attention to Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, who was known to be a firm supporter of the monopoly system. Articles of impeachment were sent up to the Lords accusing him of receiving bribes, and no less than twenty-two instances were clearly made out against him. The Chancellor would not face his accusers. He admitted that he had, in accordance with the bad practices of the day, thoughtlessly received "presents" from suitors both before



and after judgment, but "*that the money he had received had never influenced the course of justice.*" He was, however, sentenced to be confined in the Tower during the King's pleasure, to pay a fine of £40,000, and to be incapable of holding an office, or of coming within the verge of court. James almost immediately released him from the Tower and remitted the fine, but Bacon withdrew into private life, a disappointed and crest-fallen man, and spent the remainder of his days in the study of philosophy. His own opinion of his sentence was "that he had been the justest judge that was in England these 50 years, but that it was the justest sentence in Parliament these 200 years." The whole case was a sign that the power of the King was decreasing and that of the Parliament increasing, and that the idea of "the responsibility of the King's ministers to the Parliament" and not to the King alone was gradually becoming a vital part of the constitution.

(3) **The Protest of the Commons, 1621.** When Parliament met after the prosecution of Bacon, there was a unanimous feeling among the Members that it was their duty to exert all their energies in support of the cause of Frederick, Elector Palatine. But the King thought otherwise. He foolishly conceived the hope that if he could form an alliance between England and Spain by marrying his son Charles to the Infanta, he could easily induce Philip IV. to use his influence in restoring his son-in-law to his rights and possessions. But the Commons hated the proposed Spanish alliance, and petitioned James to marry his son to a Protestant bride. James replied that they had no right to interfere in the "mysteries of state," or to discuss subjects on which they had not been consulted. This brought matters to a crisis. Led by **Coke** and **Thomas Wentworth**, (afterwards the Earl of Stafford), the Commons embodied their views in a "protest," asserting "that the liberties, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that as members of Parliament they had a right to discuss all matters of public concernment." James was in a towering passion. *He tore out the obnoxious protest from the Journals of the House with his own hand*, and shortly after dissolved Parliament, although it had not granted him a single penny.



The leading members of the opposition, including Coke, Phelips, and Mallory, were sent to the Tower, and Pym was ordered to confine himself to his own house.

(4) **The Spanish Marriage.** James still clung to the hope of being able to effect an alliance with Spain by marrying the Prince of Wales to the Infanta. To accomplish this, Charles and Buckingham formed the foolish plan of visiting Madrid in person, and obtaining from the Spanish King the hand of his sister, the Princess. But the plan was a complete failure. Philip had no idea of giving his consent to such a union, and his sister even threatened to retire to a nunnery rather than marry a heretic. A series of negotiations followed, and Charles agreed to every proposal that the Spanish court demanded of him, even promising to give full and complete toleration to the Roman Catholics in England. Meanwhile, Buckingham had given serious offence to the haughty Spanish nobles by his arrogance and over-bearing manner, and when he and Charles discovered that the whole of the negotiations was a farce, they took a ceremonious leave of the Spanish sovereign, and hurried home. They, however, sent back word to Philip that the marriage negotiations could proceed no further, unless Philip would promise to assist Frederick in his attempt to regain his lost possessions, a promise, which they well knew he would never make, and so the match was broken off. The joy of the nation was unbounded, when it became known that Charles had not brought back his intended Spanish bride. Buckingham got all the credit of the failure of the Spanish alliance, and for the time he was the most popular man in England.

7. **James's Fourth Parliament, 1624.** When James's Fourth Parliament met, the hostile feeling against Spain was at its height. The members were unanimous in their desire for war, but they could not agree as to which was the most advantageous course to adopt, to attack Spain directly, or wage war on the Palatinate. After some deliberation, it was decided to adopt the latter course, and so 12,000 Englishmen were sent out and placed under the command of **Count Mansfeld**, a German adventurer. The whole expedition, however, was so badly managed, that three-fourths of the men died of cold and starvation, before they reached the actual seat of war.

NOTE.—This Parliament, like its predecessors, proved quite beyond the King's control. In spite of the King's opposition, it impeached and drove from office the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, nominally for corruption and bribery, but in reality for opposing the war with Spain. It also passed an Act abolishing monopolies.

8. **Alliance with France, 1624.** Meanwhile Buckingham was bent on revenging himself on the Spanish Court. This he did very easily by forming an alliance with France, who was the avowed enemy of Spain. It was agreed that Charles should marry **Henrietta Maria**, the sister of Louis XIII., and in the marriage treaty it was stipulated that Charles should give religious liberty to the Roman Catholics. While the negotiations were still in progress, the old King worn out by repeated attacks of gout and ague breathed his last.

NOTE.—**The Pilgrim Fathers.** In 1608 a body of "Separatists," despairing of being allowed to worship in their own way, left England for Holland, and after a while settled at Leyden. Many of them determined to emigrate to America, where they thought they could lead a more religious life. Accordingly, in 1620, about 120 of these Puritans (afterwards called by their descendants the "Pilgrim Fathers") set sail from Holland in the "*Mayflower*," and planted a colony at New Plymouth in America. Their numbers were thinned by cold, disease and privation, but the remnant still clung to their new home, and became the beginning of the Puritan New England of America.

**CHARLES I., 1625—1649 (24 years).**

**Title:** Son of James I.

**Married,** Henrietta Maria of France.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—THE ASCENDANCY OF BUCKINGHAM.**

Character of Charles I. His First Parliament. Character of the House of Commons. The Spanish War and Expedition to Cadiz. Charles's Second Parliament. War with France and Expedition to Rhé. Charles's Third Parliament and the Petition of Right. Assassination of Buckingham. Dissolution of the Third Parliament. Constitutional position of the King and the Commons.

**SECTION II.—THE PERIOD OF ARBITRARY RULE.**

Charles's Ministers; Lord Weston, Sir Thomas Wentworth and Archbishop Laud. Arbitrary proceedings of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. The cases of Leighton, Prynne and Bastwick. Charles's means of raising a revenue. Charles attempts to force Episcopacy on Scotland. The First Bishops' War. The Short Parliament and the Second Bishops' War.

**SECTION III.—THE RULE OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.**

The Impeachment of Strafford. His Trial and Execution. Constitutional Reforms and Safe-guards passed by the Long Parliament. The Root-and-Branch Bill, and the Split in the Parliamentary Party. The Incident. The Irish Rebellion. The Grand Remonstrance. The attempted Arrest of the Five Members. Preparations for War.

## SECTION IV.—THE GREAT REBELLION AND FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

General Character of the Rebellion. Campaigns of 1642—43. Siege of Gloucester and First Battle of Newbury. Alliance with the Scots and Irish. Campaign of 1644 and Battle of Marston Moor. Second Battle of Newbury. Rise of Cromwell. Self-Denying Ordinance. Formation of the New Model Army. Failure of negotiations at Uxbridge. The Battle of Naseby and end of the War. Montrose in Scotland. Charles gives himself up to the Scots. Dispute between the Presbyterian Parliament and Independent Army. The Heads of the Proposals. The Second Civil War. The Treaty of Newport. Pride's Purge. Trial and Execution of the King. The illegality of the King's Trial.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

(a) **Statesmen and Courtiers**:—George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Sir John Eliot; John Pym; Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; Lord Weston.

(b) **Military Commanders**:—Prince Rupert; John Hampden; Lord Manchester; Hopton; Waller; Lord Essex; Duke of Newcastle; Oliver Cromwell; Sir Thomas Fairfax; James Graham, Marquis of Montrose; Duke of Hamilton; David Leslie.

(c) **Other Names**:—William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; Prynne; Dr. Alexander Leighton; William Noy; Sir John Finch; Thomas Hobbes.

### LEADING DATES.

Petition of Right . . . . .	1628
Long Parliament . . . . .	1640
Grand Remonstrance . . . . .	1641
Attempt to seize the Five Members . . . . .	1642
First Civil War begins . . . . .	1642
First Battle of Newbury . . . . .	1643
Battle of Marston Moor . . . . .	1644
Self-Denying Ordinance . . . . .	1645
Battle of Naseby . . . . .	1645
Second Civil War . . . . .	1648
Pride's Purge. . . . .	1648
Execution of Charles I. . . . .	1649

## SECTION I.—THE ASCENDANCY OF BUCKINGHAM.

1. **Character of Charles I.** Charles I. was in many ways superior to his father, James I. He possessed a handsome exterior, was dignified and stately in his manner and bearing, but he lacked his father's frankness and amiability, and his habitual shyness caused him to be little understood by his subjects. "*The King*," said Sir Ferdinand Fairfax, "*is in his own nature very stiff.*"

He was far from being a coward, but was wanting in straight-forwardness, and developed such a hopeless practice of prevarication that his word could never be relied on. He thought it perfectly justifiable to break his promise, if by so doing he could gain his ends. Although he was well educated, he had not the capacity for a wise conduct of the affairs of a nation in a troubled period of transition and unrest, and lived too much in a world of his own either to understand or influence the ideas and opinions of others. Above all he was incurably obstinate. Nothing would cause him to deviate from any line of action, which he had once chosen. As he himself said, "*he could not defend a bad or yield in a good cause.*" This obstinacy and want of political insight prevented him from making those prudent concessions, which the spirit and temper of the times demanded, and served only to increase the opposition, which already existed between the King and the Parliament. Unfortunately too Charles had been taught by his father to believe that the royal prerogative was paramount in the State, that all the powers exercised by the Tudors were his legitimate rights, and that the King in matters of State ought to follow his own ideas and in no way be guided by Parliament.

Charles was deeply religious, and strongly attached to the Church of England; a devoted husband and fond father, and free from those vices, which existed in the profligate and vicious Court of his father. He was moreover a judicious patron of the fine arts and literature, and had he been born a peer instead of a prince, he would have been one of the finest men of his day.

NOTE 1.—The history of the reign of Charles I. is in reality a continuation of the great struggle between the King and the Parliament, which had begun in the reign of James I. In this reign it was decided, whether the chief power was to be vested



in the hands of the King or in the hands of the Parliament, and the struggle reached its climax in the execution of Charles I. and the overthrow of the monarchy.

NOTE 2.—In pursuance of the policy of the last reign, Charles married by proxy Henrietta Maria of France, and Buckingham was sent to bring home his bride.

2. **His First Parliament, 1625.** Charles was eager to meet his First Parliament, because he wanted money to carry on the war with Spain, which had been begun in the last reign (see page 133). But no sooner had the Parliament assembled, than it became evident that between the King and the members there were many points of bitter dissension.

(1) **The Subsidy Question.** Charles asked for the enormous sum of £1,000,000 for the war, but Parliament, distrusting both Charles and Buckingham, as well as their policy, granted only two subsidies amounting to £150,000, and Tonnage and Poundage for one year only, although it had been the custom since the time of Henry VI. to grant these taxes for the whole term of the King's life. Charles considered this restriction as an insult to his position as King, and refused to accept the grant.

(2) **The Religious Question.** By his marriage treaty with France, Charles had solemnly promised to protect the Roman Catholics, and public indignation was roused in no small degree, as soon as it became known that Catholic priests had been brought over from France, that the Court was crowded with Roman Catholic noblemen, and that Mass was said regularly in the palace by the Queen's orders. The Commons, "*whose affections were much stirred against Popery*," presented the "*Pious Petition*" to the King, praying his Majesty, that "as he valued the advancement of true religion in the land, he should put into immediate execution all the existing penal laws against Roman Catholic Recusants and Missionaries."

Moreover the growth of Arminianism, and the favour it received at Court, alarmed the Calvinistic Puritans of the House of Commons. **Dr. Richard Montague** had published and dedicated to Charles a tract entitled "*An Appeal to Caesar*," in which he had embodied Arminian views, and the first act of the Commons was to summon him to their bar and commit him to the Tower. Charles, however,

insisted, that as he was one of the royal chaplains, the question of punishment should be left with him, and as if to show his supreme contempt for the action of the Commons in the matter, he released Montague from confinement and subsequently made him Bishop of Chichester.

**NOTE.**—The Arminians were originally those Dutch Protestants who followed **Arminius**, in opposition to the more rigid followers of **Calvin**. They thought that the “Reformers,” in their zeal to get rid of the evils of Popery, had destroyed much that was really vital in Christianity, and hence they were regarded with intense dislike, both by Puritans and Presbyterians, who imagined that they leaned towards Romanism. Subsequently the name was applied to those who wished the Church of England to take up a “middle position” between the teaching and practice of the Church of Rome on the one hand, and that of Calvin on the other. They claimed Charles I. and Archbishop Laud as their greatest champions.

(3) **The dislike of the Commons for Buckingham.** Buckingham was still the favourite at Court. He was ambitious, ignorant and headstrong, possessing an overweening confidence in his own powers, always eager to undertake any enterprise, but incapable of bringing it to a successful issue. For ten years he had been the constant companion of Charles, and had acquired so complete a mastery over the young prince, that on the accession of Charles, *he became in reality the ruler of England*. But the Commons regarded him as an upstart: They disliked him for his unbounded influence over the King, and looked upon him with suspicion and mistrust.

3. **Charles dissolves his First Parliament.** Meanwhile the plague was raging in the foul alleys of London, and Charles ordered the House to be adjourned to Oxford. Here he again urged the Commons to vote him a larger subsidy for the war with Spain, but they refused to do so unless the spending of the money was placed in the hands of more trustworthy ministers. “*It is not fit,*” said Phelips, the outspoken leader of the House, “*to repose the safety of the kingdom upon those that have not parts answerable to their places.*” They proceeded to bring a charge against Buckingham of having sent eight ships, ostensibly fitted out against Spain, to assist Richelieu in reducing La Rochelle, the stronghold of the French Protestants. Every day the bitterness of the quarrel became

more and more intense, and when Buckingham, at the King's request, offered to give an explanation of his conduct, he was threatened with impeachment. Charles felt that to abandon Buckingham and accept the ministers appointed by the Commons, was equivalent to a surrender of the royal prerogative altogether, and rather than submit to this degradation, he dissolved Parliament.

NOTE.—Character of the House of Commons. The general character of the House of Commons was at this time, far different from that which had existed under the Tudors. The members consisted for the most part of wealthy and powerful gentry, and clever lawyers, whose knowledge of constitutional precedent made them formidable opponents of the encroachments of the Crown. The leaders were men of unusual capacity, possessing broadly extended political views, animated by a warm regard for the liberty of the subject, and resolved at any cost to reduce the royal prerogative to more reasonable bounds. They believed in "*the supremacy of Parliament*," and adhered strongly to the principle "*that grievances and supplies go hand in hand*," and so would grant no vote of money, unless it was accompanied by some concession from the King in favour of civil liberty. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that at this early stage of the struggle the Commons aimed at supreme power. They saw the existence of what seemed certain abuses in the government, and resolutely set their minds on removing them.

4. **The Spanish War and expedition to Cadiz, 1625.** Charles thought that a successful war with Spain, and a revival of the naval glories of Elizabeth's reign, would convince the nation that he was right in his foreign policy and that the Commons were wrong. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet of ninety ships, with 10,000 men on board, and gave the command to **Sir Edward Cecil** (now **Lord Wimbledon**), with instructions to take **Cadiz**, and intercept the treasure fleet, which every year brought the rich produce of the gold and silver mines of America to Spain. The expedition was badly planned, and ended most disastrously. The greater part of the fleet was made up of merchant vessels; whose crews had been pressed into the King's service, while the soldiers had been cruelly torn from their homes and had no heart in the matter. A small fort, which defended the harbour of the town, was taken, but the whole army with the exception of a few officers got helplessly drunk with a store of wine, which they discovered. Without even venturing to attack the city, Wimbledon re-embarked his troops, and put to sea in

the hope of intercepting the treasure fleet. After a fruitless cruise of eighteen days off the coast of Portugal, the long-looked for fleet passed unobserved in the night, and entered the harbour in safety. To add to their misfortunes, a fierce contagion broke out among the soldiers and sailors, and the ill-fated fleet was compelled to return to England.

**Charles's Second Parliament, 1626.** The failure of the Cadiz expedition plunged Charles into the greatest financial difficulties, and compelled him to call a second Parliament. He was determined, however, to prevent the more out-spoken members from taking their seats in the new Parliament. Accordingly, before issuing the necessary writs of election, he "pricked off" the names of **Wentworth, Coke, Phelps** and others, to serve as sheriffs in their respective counties, the holding of which office incapacitated them from sitting in Parliament. His clever expedient, however, proved of little advantage to him, for the Commons found a far more able and energetic leader in the person of **Sir John Eliot**, than any of those who had been deprived of their seats. Eliot was a fervid, high-minded and eloquent young Cornish squire, who had been an enthusiastic friend of Buckingham's, but he had seen enough of the royal favourite's bad doings to convince him that he was nothing but a selfish and unprincipled adventurer, bent on the ruin of his country.

NOTE.—At the same time Charles also lost the support of the House of Lords by foolishly attempting to prevent the **Earl of Bristol**, Buckingham's personal enemy, from taking his seat in the House of Lords.

The new Parliament met under the leadership of Eliot, and proceeded at once to attack Buckingham as "*the grievance of grievances*," and finally drew up articles of impeachment against him. The King's anger was roused. "I see," said he, "that you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I must let you know that I will not let any of my servants be questioned by you, much less such as are of eminent place and near to me. I wish that you would hasten my supply, or else it will be the worst for yourselves." But the Commons paid no heed to the threat, and forthwith proceeded with the impeachment. The charges were that he had raised illegal taxes, sold public offices to unworthy



persons, and sent ships to France contrary to the interests of the realm and the Protestant Faith. Charles's vexation was raised to its greatest pitch, when he heard that Eliot in one of his burning speeches had compared Buckingham to Sejanus, the wicked favourite of the Roman Emperor Tiberius. "*If he is Sejanus,*" said Charles, "*I must be Tiberius.*" He caused Eliot and Digges, the prime movers in the impeachment, to be arrested and sent to the Tower, but the Commons would "proceed to no business" until they were released, and Charles, being anxious to get his subsidies, was compelled to give way. The Commons then retaliated by drawing up a Remonstrance attacking the whole policy of the government, and demanding the dismissal of Buckingham, but rather than abandon his minister, Charles a second time dissolved Parliament, protesting that he would allow the Commons the liberty of offering counsel, but not of controlling his government. "*Remember,*" said he, "*that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution ; and therefore as I find the fruits to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be.*"

6. **War with France.** Charles raises money illegally. At this critical period Charles foolishly embarked on a war with France. The causes assigned for this change of policy were : (1) Charles had promised, when he married his French wife, to deal gently with Papal Recusants, but the strong Protestant zeal of his Parliaments made it impossible for him to grant them any indulgence, and the French government complained that he had broken his word ; (2) Charles had also given offence to the French Court by driving out of England all the Queen's attendants, who did nothing but make mischief between him and his wife ; (3) Buckingham was anxious to avenge a personal insult he had received at the hands of Richelieu ; (4) Lastly, Charles and Buckingham both thought that they would win an easy popularity, if they supported the French Protestants, who were at this time in open rebellion, and closely besieged by the royal forces at **Rochelle**. Charles's first hope was that the nation would give him the money to support the war, which the Commons had refused. He therefore asked his subjects to give him a "free gift," and commissioners were appointed to



assess the amount, which every landowner was expected to pay. Charles was very angry, when he found that his request met with but little response. From almost every county refusal to give anything, "*save by way of Parliament*" poured in. He therefore gave orders for the levying of a "forced loan." The Arminian clergy gave their support to this arbitrary proceeding, advocating in the plainest language the absolute prerogative of the King in the matter of taxation. **Dr. Sibthorpe** preaching from the text "Render therefore to all their due," asserted "that the Prince doth whatsoever pleaseth him, and his subjects are bound to yield a passive obedience;" and **Dr. Mainwaring** in a sermon before Charles maintained "that the King needed no Parliamentary warrant for taxation." But the refusal of Chief Justice Crewe to acknowledge the legality of the measure was the signal for a general resistance. Poor men, who refused to pay the "forced loan," were pressed into the army or navy; obstinate citizens and tradesmen were punished by having half-starved and unpaid soldiers billeted on them against their will, while rich men, who resisted the King's authority, were arrested and flung into prison. The whole of the northern counties set the Crown at defiance, and Lincolnshire, Shropshire, and Devonshire followed their example. No less than 200 country gentlemen were summoned before the council, and the King was so incensed with them, "that no one dared to move him on their behalf."

**Disastrous Expedition to Rhé, 1627.** This was the maddest of all Buckingham's enterprises, and like all his other projects, signally failed. With a fleet of 100 ships, and 7,000 men on board, he himself set sail for the relief of Rochelle. He landed at the island of **Rhé**, which was close to Rochelle, intending to secure that island as a base of operations against the besieged city. For eleven weeks he closely blockaded **St. Martin**, the chief fortress of the island, but just as the garrison was on the point of negotiating for a surrender, a number of French vessels, favoured by a stiff breeze, dashed through the English blockading squadron, and re-victualled the place. As no reinforcement had arrived from England, Buckingham was obliged to abandon

the siege. A French army fell upon the invaders as they straggled back to their ships, and out of the 7,000 men, only 3,000 ever reached England, and these were worn out by hunger and disease.

**Charles's Third Parliament and the Petition of Right, 1628.** The failure of the Rhé expedition only served to increase Buckingham's unpopularity. The nation felt its loss of honour most bitterly. "*Since England was England,*" men said, "*it received not so dishonourable a blow.*" But Charles, although he was terribly involved in debt, felt it was dishonourable to abandon the cause of the Huguenots, and so he summoned a third Parliament, in the hope that it would vote him money to fit out a fresh expedition. In this hope, however, he was disappointed. The Commons met in a very angry mood, and were determined to grant no supplies, until the grievances were removed. Among its numbers were some of the men, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the "forced loan," including **Hampden, Pym, and Eliot**. **Sir Thomas Wentworth**, member for Yorkshire, "a man of great ability as an orator and statesman," became the leader of the opposition. "*We must vindicate our ancient liberties,*" he said, "*by setting such a stamp upon them, as no lawless spirit shall dare hereafter to invade them.*" After much discussion, Eliot, Pym, Wentworth and Selden, brought forward and presented to the King the famous **Petition of Right**, embodying the great grievances, under which the nation was then suffering. It was in fact a declaration that certain rights belonging to the subject had been violated in the past, and must be recognized for the future. It stated:—(1) That no man be compelled to pay loan, benevolence, or tax, without consent of Parliament, or be molested or disquieted for the refusal of it. (2) That no subject should be imprisoned without cause shown. (3) That soldiers and mariners should not be billeted on the people against their will. (4) That no commission should be issued in time of peace to try subjects by martial law.

When the Commons requested Charles to sign the Petition, he sent back a long and evasive answer, which amounted to nothing. The indignation of the House was roused. Selden moved that the impeachment of Buckingham should be revived; but the Speaker interposed, and said "that there was

a royal command laid on him to interrupt any member, that should go about to lay an aspersion on the King's ministers." This breach of privilege of free speech produced such a scene of excitement in the House, as had never been witnessed before. "There were about an hundred weeping eyes," says a writer of the period; "many offered to speak, but were interrupted and silenced by their own passions." Pym himself rose only to sit down choked with tears. At last Coke had the courage to rise and denounce Buckingham as the author and source of all their miseries. The danger, which threatened Buckingham, induced Charles to give the royal assent to the Bill, and the Parliament showed its gratitude by granting five subsidies amounting to £350,000, *in reality the purchase money for the Petition of Right.*

NOTE.—The **Petition of Right** is one of the greatest bulwarks of the personal liberty of the subject. In some degree it is a re-assertion of the Magna Charta and the Confirmatio Cartarum. The former stated that no person should be imprisoned but by the law of the land, and the latter that no aids or tallage should be levied but by the common consent of the realm.

8. **Assassination of Buckingham, 1628.** The liberal grant made by Parliament enabled Charles to fit out another expedition to relieve Rochelle, and Buckingham went to Portsmouth to take charge of the expedition in person. But his unpopularity had now risen to its highest pitch. Ballads were sung in the streets denouncing him as a monster of folly and iniquity. Fearing lest he should become the victim of assassination, his friends advised him to wear a shirt of mail beneath his clothes, but he refused. "*A shirt of mail,*" said he, "*would be but a silly defence against any popular fury. As for a single man's assault, I take myself to be in no danger. There are no Roman spirits left.*" On the morning of August 23rd, as he stepped out of the room in which he had breakfasted, a gloomy fanatic, named **Felton**, stabbed him to the heart, crying out as he dealt the fatal blow, "*God have mercy on thy soul!*" The Duke fell down dead on the spot. The crime was the result of personal animosity. Felton had served under the Duke at Rhé, and had been refused promotion and denied his pay. He declared that he had no accomplices, but was incited by patriotic and religious zeal "*to avenge himself, his country and his God.*" Charles was

beside himself with grief at the loss of his favourite minister, but the nation was delirious with joy. "*God bless thee little David! the Lord comfort thee!*" shouted the crowd as the murderer was hurried off to the Tower. Even the soldiers on their departure for Spain, shouted to the King "that he should spare Felton, their fellow soldier."

Felton was hanged at Tyburn, and met the fate he deserved. Buckingham's body was interred at Westminster "in a poor and confused manner, an armed guard protecting the slain tyrant's corpse from the insults of the mob." The armament, which had been prepared to relieve La Rochelle, set sail under the Earl of Lindsey, but the soldiers had no heart in the matter, and the commander no capacity as a general, and so the enterprise failed ignominiously like its predecessor. Shortly after, La Rochelle surrendered to the King of France.

By Buckingham's death, Charles became his own minister. *He had now to bear the brunt of a nation's indignation alone.*

9. **Dissolution of the Third Parliament, 1629.** In January, 1629, Parliament re-assembled, but in a more defiant spirit than ever. It opened the session by calling to account some of the Arminian Clergy, for having introduced Popish Ceremonies into the Church. The question of the legality of Tonnage and Poundage was also revived. Charles had seized the goods of a merchant named Rolle, a member of the House, for non-payment of the obnoxious tax, and the Commons maintained that the attack on Rolle was a breach of privilege. But Charles would not allow the custom-house officers to answer for their conduct, whereupon a hot dispute arose, and Charles adjourned the House in the hope that the matter might be settled by compromise. On March 2nd the Commons again met, but would not give way. Perceiving the obstinate spirit of the House, Charles ordered Finch, the Speaker, to announce its adjournment for a week. But Eliot would not accept this arrangement, believing that "*adjournment*" was but a preliminary step towards "*dissolution*," and he was anxious, before the session closed, to bring forward and pass a series of resolutions justifying the line of action, which he and his fellow-members had taken. As the Speaker was leaving the chair, two stout members, Holles and Valentine, rushed forward, and in spite of his

tears and entreaties, held him down by main force in his seat, while Eliot read the resolutions, to the effect "that whoever brought in innovations in religion, or advised the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without a grant from Parliament, or voluntarily paid those duties was to be counted an enemy to the Kingdom of England and a betrayer of its liberties." The scene, which followed, was one of strange disorder and confusion. Some of the members rushed forward to liberate the Speaker, while others attempted to keep him in his chair. The doors were locked, although a loud knocking announced the approach of the usher with a message from the King. Fierce and reckless speeches followed, and sword-hilts were freely handled. At last some kind of order was restored, and the resolutions were again read by Holles and loud shouts of "Aye, aye," declared them carried. The doors were then opened and the members streamed forth. Eight days after, Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, Charles announcing his intention of ruling without a Parliament. "We have showed," ran the proclamation, "by our frequent meeting our people, our love for the use of Parliaments; yet the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for anyone to prescribe any time unto us for Parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in our power, and shall be more inclinable to meet in Parliament again, when our people shall see more clearly into our interests and actions."

NOTE 1.—The chief actors in this remarkable scene were apprehended by the King's orders and sent to the Tower. Three of them, Eliot, Holles and Valentine were brought before the King's Bench, and charged with riot and sedition, but as they refused to plead on the ground that the judges had no jurisdiction over Parliamentary matters, they were all fined and imprisoned. But the King's chief displeasure fell on Eliot, "*the greatest offender and ringleader, and an outlawed man, desperate in mind and fortune.*" He was subjected to the most rigorous confinement without air or exercise, and deprived one by one of those indulgences due to a State prisoner. Gradually his health failed, and after three years imprisonment the noble-minded patriot passed away. To the very last Charles maintained his vindictive spirit against him, and when the dead man's children requested that the body of their father might be buried in the grave of his ancestors, he refused. "Let the body of Sir John Eliot," he said, "*be buried in the place where he died.*"



NOTE 2.—On the constitutional position of the King and the Commons. (1) From the late contests, it was evident that the King and the Commons could not work harmoniously on the old lines of administration. Charles, in virtue of his position as king, claimed the right of choosing his own ministers and his own policy; the Commons by withholding supplies and impeaching the king's ministers upheld the doctrine of the Supremacy of Parliament.

(2) Both parties appealed to ancient practices in support of their position, but in some respects the case of Charles was stronger than that of the Commons. Ever since the accession of the Tudors, the king had been the centre of the government, and the Parliament nothing more than the Great Council of the king, assembled to advise the king, not to control him.

(3) Both parties failed to recognize the fact that the political needs of the country had far outgrown the old institutions, and that a re-adjustment of power was required. It was plain that the "personal monarchy" of the Tudors had completely broken down.

(4) The "*despotism of Parliament*" was a form of government quite as much to be dreaded as the "*tyranny of kings*." Neither the Commons nor the King realized what "*toleration*" meant. The Commons silenced the mouths of the Arminian Clergy, who advocated the royal prerogative, but complained bitterly of breach of privilege, when the Speaker acting on the King's orders forbade Selden to impeach Buckingham. The "Resolutions" of Eliot prove that the Commons would grant no freedom of doctrine, while the persecutions of Laud show that the King would grant no freedom of ceremony.

(5) But perhaps the greatest mistake Charles made was in supposing, that however capable he and his ministers were in the art of governing, he could not rule successfully *without the goodwill of the nation at large*. In this respect he entirely differed from his predecessors, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, both of whom knew how to play the part of a frank and open sovereign, and courted "popularity" as the very essence of a successful government.

## SECTION II.—THE PERIOD OF ARBITRARY RULE.

1. **Charles's Ministers.** For eleven years (1629-40), Charles ruled without a Parliament. He was fully convinced that by dispensing with a Parliament he was ruling constitutionally, and that his "royal prerogative" was a sufficient excuse for anything he might do in carrying on the administration of the State. As it has been truly said, "*with the key of the laws he sought to open the entrance to absolute power*." His ministers during this period were Lord Weston, Sir Thomas Wentworth and Archbishop Laud.

(a) **Weston** was the least celebrated of the three. He was a man of imperious nature, but timid and vacillating. His policy was one of peace, and his economical administration of affairs contrasted strangely with that of Buckingham. He made peace with France and Spain, knowing well enough that the adoption of a peace policy was the only way to keep Charles out of debt. Further, he encouraged commerce and manufactures, on the ground that if men were rich, they would no longer quarrel with the King. Weston died in 1634, and his place was supplied by Sir Thomas Wentworth.

(b) **Sir Thomas Wentworth** was by far the ablest of Charles's advisers. He was a great Yorkshire landowner, and sat in the Third Parliament as member for West Riding. In the early part of the reign, he had joined Eliot in his opposition against Buckingham, but on the passing of the Petition of Right, he deserted the popular cause, and enlisted in the service of the King. His desertion gave great umbrage to those, who had been his friends. "*You are leaving us now,*" said Pym, "*but we will never leave you whilst your head is on your shoulders.*" But he betrayed an honesty of purpose in so doing. Eliot and Pym wished to base all authority on "public opinion" as represented in Parliament; Wentworth went further than this, he ignored public opinion altogether. He believed that a wise and enlightened king, assisted by a council of intelligent statesmen, was far more competent to carry out the reforms, which the nation needed, and decide what was for the nation's good, than a Parliament composed in a great measure of ill-informed and intolerant country gentlemen and unbending lawyers. His chief desire was to make Charles supreme in the State, and free from those restraints, which Parliament wished to impose upon him. But like Charles he failed to see that neither King nor minister could rule in opposition to the general inclination of the people. He was a stern, harsh, uncompromising statesman and his "*natural roughness and the terror of his bended brows*" over-awed all opposition. By his system, which he called the policy of "**Thorough**," he resolutely determined to crush all who dared to question or oppose his authority, and by so doing render his royal master "*the most absolute prince in Chris-*

*tendom.*” Charles soon recognized Wentworth’s ability as an administrator, and in 1628 made him President of the Council of the North.

(c) **William Laud.** The King’s chief adviser in church matters during this period was William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. At Oxford, Laud had become President of St. John’s College, and had won a reputation for his theological and Oriental learning. He was a man of great ability and untiring zeal, and was thoroughly religious and high-minded. He reformed many abuses in the Church, and made it his aim to elevate the religious life of the whole nation. His personal character, his zeal for the Church, and the integrity of his motives cannot be too highly praised, but his want of sympathy with and regard for the feelings of others, and his high-handed proceedings in the Church courts gained him many enemies.

Like Eliot and many other Puritan members he held that there should be but “one church” for the nation, but while Eliot and his followers sought to gain their ends by an enforcement of “*unity of belief*,” Laud laboured hard to accomplish his object by an enforcement of “*uniformity of ceremonial*.” “I laboured nothing more,” he afterwards said in defence of his proceedings, “than that the external public worship of God—too much slighted in most parts of this kingdom—might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be; being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the Church, when uniformity is shut out at the church door.” But his rigid enforcement of “*ceremony*” gave great offence to the Puritans in the Church, who regarded all ceremonies as “*Romish*” in their tendencies, and Laud himself to be little better than a Papist in disguise.

NOTE.—Some of the changes introduced by Laud were:—

(a) He caused the Communion Table to be removed from the middle of the church to the East end, and to be railed off from the rest of the church. So little reverence had people felt for it, that they often used it for a writing-table upon which the business of the parish was transacted, and men even laid their hats upon it during the time of Divine Service. People were now taught to bow to it on entering, and on leaving the sacred edifice. (b) He ordered a crucifix to be placed on the altar in Westminster Abbey. (c) No one was allowed to take the Sacrament sitting, as many persons did, but in a kneeling posture. (d) Ministers and congregations were encouraged to adorn their churches with painted windows, images and crosses.

2. **Arbitrary Proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber and High Commission Court.** To enforce this "uniformity of ceremonial," Laud had recourse to the two very powerful courts then in operation, the Court of Star Chamber and the High Commission Court, and by his high-handed proceedings roused the fiercest opposition of all parties. He extended Wentworth's system of "Thorough" to matters quite outside the ordinary jurisdiction of a bishop, and punished all offenders both in secular as well as in spiritual matters with terrible severity.

Among the many instances of the severity of these Courts the following may be cited :—

(1) **Dr. Leighton**, a Scottish Presbyterian minister, who had settled in London as a physician, wrote a book called "*Zion's Plea against Prelacy*," full of the most virulent language, in which he denounced the bishops as "*men of blood*" and as "*the authors of all the then existing evils*." "*Episcopacy*," he said, "*was as Antichrist and the Queen as a daughter of Heth, a Canaanite and an idolatress*." Leighton was brought before the Star Chamber, and, at Laud's instigation, fined £10,000, sentenced to be whipped, pilloried, his cheeks branded with the letters S.S. ("*sower of sedition*"), and imprisoned for life.

(2) In 1633 **William Prynne**, a learned barrister and antiquary, but a narrow-minded and intolerant theologian, wrote a book of some 1,000 pages entitled "*Histriomastix*" or the "*Scourge of Stage Players*." Prynne maintained that the "*stage*" was the cause of every evil under the sun; that players were "*ministers of Satan*," and theatres "*devil's chapels*." He held that all the Roman emperors, who had patronized the drama, had come to a bad end, and this was considered a libel on the King, who was a playgoer. His stricture upon all actresses was supposed to reflect upon the personal character of the Queen, who was at that very time taking part in the rehearsals of a Court masque. Prynne also condemned hunting, may-poles, love-locks (*i.e.* long hair worn at that time by the men), and even music. He was sentenced by the Star Chamber to lose his ears, to stand in the pillory, and pay a fine of £5,000. This sentence, outrageous as it was, does not seem to have caused much excitement. As a protest against Prynne's wholesale

condemnation of the drama, the Inns of Court presented to the King a gorgeous masque, and even Milton, Puritan though he was, showed how little at this time he sympathized with Prynne's denunciations, by writing his beautiful masque "*Comus*" for representation at Ludlow Castle.

(3) In 1637 **Dr. Thomas Bastwick**, a physician, was summoned before the Star Chamber for writing a tract called the "*New Litany*" in which he denounced the Bishops for their Romish tendencies. "*All hell,*" he said, "*was let loose, and the devils in surplices, hoods and copes were come among them.*" The same year **Henry Burton**, a Puritan clergyman, who had formerly been a Court chaplain, was also dragged before the Star Chamber for calling the Bishops "*caterpillars, dumb dogs, robbers of souls, and limbs of the beast.*" Both Burton and Bastwick were condemned to stand in the pillory, to lose their ears, and pay a fine of £5,000.

(4) **Henry Sherfield**, formerly member of Parliament for Salisbury, was heavily fined for breaking a painted window of a church, "*which,*" he said, "*obscured the light and caused much superstition.*"

Laud was no respecter of persons. In 1637 **Williams, Bishop of Lincoln**, who had favoured the Puritans, was summoned before the High Commission Court, and sentenced to pay a fine of £10,000 and confined in the Tower.

The atrocious work of the Star Chamber at last roused the anger of the nation. Prynne's first punishment had kindled little sympathy for the sufferer; "*he had stood,*" we read, "*alone in the pillory, no man regarding him.*" When, however, he went a second time to the pillory, together with Bastwick and Burton, his progress was more like a triumphal procession. Crowds of Londoners strewed flowers and sweet herbs in their path, and "*wept and groaned*" while they suffered mutilation, and "*gave a loud shout,*" when Prynne declared that his sentence was contrary to law. To effectually remove the prisoners out of the reach of their friends and supporters, Charles ordered Prynne to be confined in Jersey, Burton in Guernsey, and Bastwick in the Scilly Islands. But the common people, we are told, were extremely compassionate towards them; thousands of persons lined the roads, to greet the "*martyrs*" on their departure to their respective prisons.



### 3. Means employed by Charles of raising a revenue.

Charles's greatest difficulty during this period of "absolute rule" was to raise money. In the absence of Parliament, by which alone he could legally raise a revenue, Charles was compelled to resort to many strange devices, all more or less unconstitutional. Persons of every class were called upon to meet his demands, if they refused, they experienced the heavy hand of the Star Chamber.

(1) He revived the old laws of knighthood of Edward I. All owners of land worth £40 a year, who had not taken up their knighthood, were heavily fined. No less than £100,000 is said to have been raised in this way alone. Charles had a perfect right to this claim, but as it had not been enforced for 100 years, its revival naturally caused much irritation.

(2) **Tonnage and Poundage** were still levied, although the Petition of Right had declared the practice illegal. But Charles not only continued the practice of levying these duties, but augmented the rates on merchandise, and ordered the goods of those, who refused to pay, to be instantly seized and sold.

(3) Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the limits of the royal forests and all who had encroached upon them were heavily fined. This proceeding affected all land owners near the royal forests. "*All England,*" says a writer of the time, "*will soon be considered as having once been forest-land.*" In Essex the forest-land was so enlarged, that it was said to have swallowed up the whole county, and the same was said of Kent, Surrey and Sussex. The boundaries of Rockingham Forest were extended from six to sixty miles, and enormous fines, ranging from £3,000 to £20,000, imposed on those who were trespassers. The Earl of Southampton was deprived of his estate bordering on the New Forest, and by this unjust treatment was reduced to comparative poverty.

(4) **The Establishment and Sale of Monopolies.** Charles also revived the right of granting monopolies, but on a much more extensive scale than that, which any of his predecessors had adopted. Under the system of monopolies, the exclusive right of selling nearly every article of domestic consumption such as *coal, iron, salt, soap, leather, beer, butter,*

*linen* and many others was vested in a company, who undertook to pay a very large sum for the original concession of the monopoly, and a duty on all the profits. For example, we find that the exclusive right of manufacturing and selling a new kind of *soap* was vested in a company, who agreed to pay £10,000 for its charter, and in addition, a royalty of £8 on every ton of soap that was made.

NOTE.—Under the Tudors the right of granting monopolies to individual courtiers had become so unpopular that Elizabeth had to abandon it, and in the reign of James I. (1624) it was also nullified by act of Parliament. Charles, however, in reviving the right, evaded the Monopolies Act of 1624 by granting the right to "*corporate bodies*" instead of "*individuals*."

(5) **Fines inflicted by the Star Chamber.** Another method of raising money was by fines inflicted by the Star Chamber. Charles had greatly extended the jurisdiction of this court. All kinds of matters, which were really outside the cognizance of common law, such as speaking ill of the King, his government or his ministers, disregard of proclamations, personal and private quarrels, and even family broils were brought before the Star Chamber and the offenders heavily fined. As an example of the severity of the fines and the trivial grounds on which they were exacted, the case of Sir David Fowles may be mentioned. Sir David and his son were both fined £2,000 for having said "*that Strafford was no more accounted of at Court than an ordinary man.*"

(6) **Ship-money, 1634.** Of all the expedients adopted by Charles for filling the royal exchequer the most noted was that of Ship-money. From a very ancient period, it had been the custom for seaport towns to provide ships for the defence of the country in time of war, and there were good reasons at this time for making some extraordinary effort to raise an efficient fleet. Although the country was not actually at war, the Algerian pirates swept the English Channel, the maritime power of the Dutch was increasing and menaced our trade, and the French had also augmented their naval power. Accordingly in 1634, Charles, acting on the advice of Noy, the Attorney-General, issued writs ordering all maritime towns and counties to provide the King

with ships for a fleet, or as an equivalent, to pay a sum of money, called "Ship-money," with which the King might build the ships himself. The following year Charles, ignoring all precedents, *extended the imposition of this tax to all inland as well as maritime towns and counties*. The only special reason assigned for this second demand was "that when the whole kingdom was in danger, the whole charge ought to be maintained by all the subjects of the realm." But it was evident that the real object of the tax was not to raise money to increase the navy, but to provide for a fixed and permanent revenue; or, as Clarendon says, "*it was to serve for an everlasting supply on all occasions*." But the plan was highly unpopular from the very first. Englishmen did not complain because they had to pay money to increase the navy, but because the money was taken from them without a parliamentary grant. "*I had rather*," writes a person of the time, "*give ten subsidies in Parliament than this old-new plan of Noy's*." Men argued that if money was raised in this manner, a dangerous precedent would be created, since the King would be free from the necessity of ever calling a Parliament, and practically become his own master. "*Let the king*," said Strafford, "*only abstain from war for three years that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of this tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors*." The extension of the tax to the inland towns and counties only tended to increase its unpopularity. Persons of every class and in every part of England were united in their opposition to the tax, but it remained for John Hampden, a young Buckinghamshire Squire, to become the mouth-piece of the nation, and test the question of the legality of Ship-money in the courts of law. Hampden was a man of culture and refinement, keen intelligence, and of high principle and ability. He was a poor speaker, but "a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and endowed with a power of swaying others in council." He had already shown a firmness of spirit by refusing to contribute to the "forced loan" of 1626. Under the order of Ship-money he was assessed at 20 shillings for his property at Stoke Mandeville, and as he refused to pay, his case was tried before twelve judges sitting in the Exchequer Chamber. His lawyers, St. John and Holborne, argued (1)

that the precedents named were not applicable to the present case ; (2) that no emergency existed to justify the imposition of the tax ; (3) that the imposition of the tax was in direct opposition, not only to the old statutes, but also to the Petition of Right. On the other hand most of the judges, who were creatures of the Court, declared that in time of danger the King had a right to demand money from the inland towns and counties for the defence of the realm, and that he was the sole judge of the existence of that danger. "No act of Parliament," said Finch, one of the judges, "can bar the King of his regality. Acts of Parliament to take away his royal power in defence of his kingdom are void, and so also are acts to bind the King, not to command his subjects, their persons, their property and their money." Seven of the judges decided in favour of the King, and five in favour of Hampden, but "*the decision proved of more advantage to the gentleman concerned than to the King's service.*" Men felt that Hampden's advocates had had the best of the argument, and that the majority of the judges had given their decision from timidity or obsequiousness. Charles, however, was delighted at the verdict, and the levying of the tax was still continued. He could now raise a revenue legally, and thus render himself free from the control of Parliament. *It seemed as if Parliamentary government had come to an end, and that his position as an absolute monarch was unassailable.*

4. **Charles attempts to force Episcopacy upon Scotland.** For eight long years the three kingdoms, England, Ireland and Scotland, had groaned beneath the tyranny of Charles's government. In **England** the sufferings of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, had roused the popular sympathy, and the people were most bitter in their complaints against the tyrannical proceedings of Laud and the Star Chamber, while the trial and defeat of Hampden had stirred up the nation against the arbitrary rule of Charles. In **Ireland**, Wentworth's tyrannical rule of "Thorough," had provoked universal discontent, although in many respects it had been productive of good. In 1632 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland with almost absolute power. "*It is impossible,*" he said, "*for me to remedy the evils, which exist in Ireland, unless I be entirely trusted and lively assisted by his Majesty.*" The

island was at the time in a state of anarchy, and Wentworth resolutely set his mind to restore peace, order and good government. He called an Irish Parliament, and with promises of a redress of grievances, half coaxed and half bullied that body into making a grant of money, by the aid of which he organized and kept up a well-disciplined army. He suppressed the civil wars, which were raging between the native Irish Chiefs, cleared the seas of pirates, and encouraged trade and commerce between England and Ireland. He introduced the growth of flax and sent over Dutch flax-spinners and weavers to teach the Irish the linen manufacture. His rule was no doubt highly conducive to the commercial prosperity of the country, but it was a veritable Reign of Terror. His system of "Thorough," which he introduced, cowed the terrified Irish into submission. "*The King*," he wrote to Laud, "*is now as absolute here, as any prince in the world can be.*" He persecuted the Roman Catholics with great severity, established a Court of High Commission, and introduced the Act of Uniformity. He shamelessly broke his promises made to the Irish Parliament to redress grievances, and alienated old officials by his brutal treatment of **Lord Montmorris**, whom he had condemned to death on a charge of mutiny. The wild and lawless native Irish he tried to subdue by carrying out the **Plantation of Connaught** (*i.e.*, confiscating the land belonging to the Irish landowners, and giving it to English settlers), although Charles had given his word that it should not be done. People of every class and creed had learned to hate their tyrannical ruler, but as long as he kept a firm hand over them they remained quiet. When, however, he left them in 1640 a terrible reaction set in, and Ireland was devastated with rapine and deluged with bloodshed.

*But it was in Scotland that the spirit of resistance first showed itself in open rebellion.* For several years Charles, following his father's line of policy, had laboured hard to establish a Church in Scotland, uniform in faith and ritual with the Church, which existed in England. Laud had gone to Scotland to complete this scheme, and on his return had been made Archbishop of Canterbury for his services. He assumed supremacy over the Scottish Church, introduced



canons on his own authority, and brought the whole nation under the discipline of the English Church. Further, he ordered the Clergy to wear surplices during Divine Service, and communicants to receive the Sacrament in a kneeling posture. All these innovations produced the greatest irritation among the Scottish people, but the attempt made by Charles and Laud in 1637 to introduce a "Prayer Book" based upon the English Prayer Book was followed by open rebellion. The Scots hated the new Service Book, partly because of its supposed Popish character, and partly because it was imported from England, and thrust upon them by the King's authority. In fact they regarded the whole scheme as a step towards the re-establishment of Popery. On July 23rd, the attempt to read the "Prayer Book" at St. Giles', Edinburgh, was followed by a tremendous riot. As soon as the Dean began to read the service, his voice was drowned by the cries of, "*The Mass is among us! Baal is in the church! Down with the Priest of Baal!*" and the service was suddenly brought to a close by one of the viragoes throwing her stool at the Dean's head. The Bishop then mounted the pulpit to restore order, but he was assailed with sticks and stones, and escaped to his house with the greatest difficulty. The magistrates then cleared the church of the mob. Again the Dean proceeded with the service, but the rioters kept up the disturbance outside the building, by breaking the windows and attempting to force open the locked doors.

These riotous proceedings in the capital reflected the feelings of the Scottish people generally. They felt that every shred of their religious liberty was being taken from them, and were firmly resolved to take united action in opposing the King's orders. They organized four Committees, known as the **Four Tables**, consisting of representatives from each of the four Classes, the nobility, the gentry, the burgesses and the clergy, and entrusted them with the government of Scotland. To suppress the movement Charles threatened to use force, whereupon the whole nation signed the **National Covenant**, binding themselves "to defend the reformed religion, to abhor Popery as now confuted by the Word of God and the Kirk

of Scotland, to uproot all traces of its idolatries, to defend the true reformed religion, and to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established before recent innovations." Such as refused to subscribe to the Covenant were accounted by their fellow-countrymen as no better than Papists. So great was the enthusiasm displayed, that some shed tears while in the act of subscribing to it, others drew their own blood, and used it in underwriting their names, while many, in their extreme eagerness to accept it, crowded to the churches, and kept their seats from Friday to Sunday. For once in his life, Charles had the common sense to see his inability to cope with so gigantic a movement by force. He was without money or men, and so to gain time he sent the **Marquis of Hamilton**, a weak-minded, self-seeking courtier, with powers to negotiate with the Scots, and to grant them their demands. It was a grand triumph for the Scots, when Hamilton withdrew the Prayer Book and summoned a "General Assembly" at Glasgow. As soon as the Assembly met, it claimed the right of inquiring into the conduct of the Bishops and of passing judgment upon them. But Charles loved the Bishops too well to allow them to be subjected to such ignominious treatment. Hamilton, acting in accordance with the royal command, issued a proclamation declaring the Assembly dissolved. But the Assembly paid no heed to the proclamation and continued their work. They condemned the Prayer Book and the Canons, deposed the Bishops and abolished Episcopacy.

5. **The First Bishops' War, 1639.** The contumacious conduct of the Assembly appeared to Charles to be nothing less than open rebellion. "*I will rather die,*" he wrote to Hamilton, "*than yield to these pertinent and damnable demands.*" With the greatest difficulty he raised an army of 20,000 men from the northern counties, but it was the mere shadow of an army. The men were badly trained and badly disciplined, and scarcely a man among them knew how to handle a musket. Moreover they had no sympathy with the matter in hand, and were "*readier to join the Scots than to draw swords in the King's service.*" The Scots on the other hand were well prepared. They raised an army of 20,000 men, con-

sisting for the most part of experienced and well-trying soldiers, who had served in the Thirty Years' war, and were now eager to enlist in their country's cause. The whole army was placed under the command of **Alexander Leslie**, a veteran general, who had been trained under the famous Gustavus Adolphus. This formidable force took up its position on Dunse Hill, a height commanding all the roads from Berwick into Scotland.

For some weeks the two armies stood facing each other, till at last Charles, conscious of the weakness of his army and of the superiority of his antagonist, agreed to treat for peace. On the 18th of June, the **Treaty or Pacification of Berwick, 1639**, was signed, by which it was agreed that all civil and religious grievances should be settled by a free Parliament and a General Assembly. Shortly after, both these bodies met at Edinburgh, but having passed a declaration in favour of the abolition of Episcopacy, Charles broke his word, and ordered an adjournment of the sessions and again prepared for war.

NOTE.—This short and bloodless campaign is known as the **First Bishops' War**, because it was waged in the cause of the Bishops.

#### 6. **The Short Parliament and the Second Bishops' War, 1640.**

At this crisis, Wentworth, now Lord Strafford, in answer to the King's summons, appeared on the scene, and became his leading minister. He saw at a glance the difficulties, which confronted the helpless King, and urged him to call a Parliament. It was with the greatest reluctance that Charles took his minister's advice, and the **Fourth or Short Parliament** met on April 13th, 1640. The members, however, were in no very amiable frame of mind, and when Charles asked for a grant of money, Pym, the recognized leader, told him that before granting supplies there must be a redress of grievances. Charles then offered to resign his claim on Ship-money in exchange for twelve subsidies, but the Commons felt that if they accepted the proposal, it would virtually amount to an acknowledgement of the legality of the exaction of Ship-money, and so they rejected it. They were on the point of advising Charles to abandon the war with the Scots, when suddenly, and in anger, he dissolved Parliament. "*Things must go worse before they go*

better," was the ominous comment of one of the patriot members. This Parliament had sat only twenty-three days, and was afterwards known as the **Short Parliament**.

Although the Short Parliament had proved a failure, Charles managed to scrape together a few thousand pounds by levying Ship-money and other illegal devices, and again raised an army to subdue the Scots. But the troops were undisciplined and mutinous, and no threats or entreaties of Strafford could induce them to do their duty. Moreover, they showed their sympathy with the Puritan movement by breaking open the churches in their march northwards, burning the Communion rails, which Laud had ordered to be put up, and removing the Communion Table itself to the middle of the building. As Strafford himself confessed, "*there was a general disaffection to the King's service; no man was sensible of his dishonour.*" Meanwhile, the Scots, knowing that the sympathy of the people of England was on their side, entered England, and, forcing the passage of the Tyne at **Newburn**, drove in headlong flight an English force, which had been sent against them. This defeat convinced Charles of the hopelessness of his cause. He had hoped that the advance of the Scots through Northumberland would rouse the national spirit, but in this he was deceived, and, for the first time in history, a Scottish army entered England amidst the welcome of the inhabitants. Charles was in despair, and at once entered into negotiations with the Scots at **Ripon**. It was agreed that Northumberland and Durham should be held by the Scots as a security for the payment of £850 a day for the maintenance of their army, until a permanent settlement could be effected. Charles then summoned a **Great Council of Peers** to meet him at **York**. This Council was in fact a revival of the old "Great Council" of the Plantagenets, which had not been called for centuries. Before this body Charles laid his difficulties, but the members knew well enough that the time was long since past when such a Council represented the nation, and so they were afraid to act independently of the Commons, and earnestly advised the King to summon another Parliament. This advice Charles was compelled to follow, and the year 1640 witnessed the meeting of the memorable Long Parliament.

### SECTION III.—THE RULE OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

#### 1. The Impeachment, Trial and Execution of Strafford.

The Commons met in a very angry and determined mood, fully resolved to bring matters to a conclusion. First and foremost among the members was **Pym**, member for Tavistock, and the recognized leader of the house. Pym was an excellent debater, as well as a man of consummate prudence, and of great experience in parliamentary matters. Clarendon tells us "*that he was the most popular man of the time,*" and adds with some bitterness "*that he was the most able to do hurt that has lived at any time.*" So powerful was he in the House that his enemies called him "*King Pym.*" He was ably supported by **Hampden**, who had already become distinguished for his resistance to Ship-money. "The eyes of all men were fixed on him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks that threatened it." Among the less prominent members were Holles, Strode, Hazelrig and Sir Harry Vane, all zealous Puritans; Edward Hyde, Lucius Carey (Viscount Falkland), "the pride of the Royalists"; Waller, the poet, Hopton, Essex, Fairfax, Manchester and Cromwell. Charles was anxious to obtain an immediate vote of money, but the Commons would make no grant, till they had "*pulled up all grievances by the roots.*" Their first object was to remove the King's obnoxious ministers, **Strafford** and **Laud**; Strafford, because they thought he aimed at overthrowing parliamentary government, Laud, because he wished to abolish Protestantism.

Pym ordered the doors of the House to be locked to prevent interruption, and proceeded to impeach Strafford on the charge of high treason. The impeachment was carried, and immediately taken up to the House of Lords. Meanwhile, Strafford, relying on the King's word "*that he should not suffer in his person, honour, or his fortune*" had come to London. With his usual overbearing manner he went into the House, where he was only met with the cries of, "*Withdraw! Withdraw!*" He remained, however, to hear the charges, which were made against him, and was then arrested and carried off a prisoner to the Tower. On Pym's motion,



Laud was also impeached of high treason, "*as the root and ground of all existing miseries*," and sent to the Tower. The other Court officials, Secretary Windebank and Lord Keeper Finch, fled to Holland.

**The Trial of Strafford** took place in Westminster Hall. The charges brought against him were (1) that he had acted tyrannically and illegally as President of the "Council of the North"; (2) that he had attempted to establish a tyrannical government in England; (3) that he had ruled oppressively as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. To substantiate these charges all his arbitrary acts were set forth at some length. But as he himself argued, "*any number of misdemeanours do not amount to treason*." His accusers, however, were not to be baffled. At Pym's suggestion, additional evidence was introduced. **Sir Henry Vane**, the younger, had found among his father's papers, notes of a speech delivered by Strafford in the Council Chamber just before the dissolution of the Short Parliament. These notes he handed over to Pym. The passage in the notes, on which the charge of treason was based, ran thus; "Your Majesty has an army in Ireland that you may employ here to reduce this kingdom, for I am confident that the Scots cannot hold out five months." The Commons contended that the words "*this kingdom*" referred to "*England*" and not to "*Scotland*," and, on this flimsy evidence Strafford was convicted, of "*treason against the nation*." But the Commons, recognizing the weakness of the charge, and being aware that many of the lords did not approve of their line of action, abandoned the impeachment altogether, and brought forward a Bill of Attainder. This Bill passed the Commons by 204 to 59. Those in the minority were placarded all over London as "*Straffordians, betrayers of their country*." At this stage of the proceedings, intelligence reached Pym of the existence of a plot known as the **Army Plot**. It was rumoured that the Queen had intrigued with the English army in the North with a view to its marching on London, and rescuing Strafford from the Tower. *The disclosure of this plot sealed Strafford's fate.* The Lords were so terrified that they passed the Bill without further hesitation; it only remained now for the King to give his assent.

Meanwhile the excitement in London was intense. Twenty thousand citizens signed a petition praying for Strafford's death, and an angry mob crowded round Whitehall, howling for his execution. Charles was at the mercy of his enemies. If he refused to give his assent, the Commons would immediately withhold the payment due to the Scots, and England would again be invaded by a Scottish army. Strafford wrote to his royal master, telling him that he would willingly release him from his promise of protection, if by doing so it would lead to better times. After some pitiful hesitation, Charles gave his assent, remarking as he did so, "*the Earl of Strafford is a happier man than I am.*" Even his enemies were surprised. "*What,*" exclaimed Pym, "*has he given us Strafford? then he can refuse us nothing.*"

On the 12th of May, 1641, in the presence of 200,000 persons, the great English statesman was beheaded. His stern courage never once forsook him. His friends warned him of the vast crowd of unsympathizing spectators assembled to witness his fall. "I know," said he proudly, "how to look death in the face and the people too. I thank God I am not afraid of death, but as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed." The last words, which fell from his lips were, "*Put not your trust in princes.*" The public joy knew no bounds; streets blazed with bonfires, bells rang from the steeples, and "many that came to town to see the execution rode away in triumph."

NOTE.—Strafford suffered death not so much for any crime, which he had committed worthy of the extreme penalty, but because his enemies feared him as being the most dangerous of all their opponents. To his everlasting disgrace, Charles made no effort to save his faithful minister. His assent to the Bill of Attainder, by which Strafford was condemned to death, is the one act of his life, which may be characterized as mean, selfish and contemptible. "*It may be capable of explanation but never of excuse.*"

The death of Strafford brought Charles face to face with an angry and determined House of Commons.

2. Constitutional Reforms and Safe-guards passed by the Parliament, 1641. So far the Parliament had been

victorious; its next step was to pass a whole series of Constitutional Reforms, and provide the necessary safeguards for its own existence.

(1) **The Triennial Act is passed, 1641.** This Act secured (a) that every Parliament should be dissolved at the end of three years from the first day of its session; (b) that another Parliament must be summoned within three years from the dissolution of the last Parliament; (c) that the elections should be made by the people in default of the King's issuing the writs.

(2) On the very day that Charles gave his assent to the Bill for Strafford's execution, he also assented to another Bill, by which it was provided *that the existing Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent*. This act not only made the Parliament independent of the King, but practically his master. The King no longer held the power of dissolving it, when it proved contumacious or defied him.

(3) A Statute was passed abolishing the **Court of Star Chamber**, and by way of showing its disapproval of Laud's system, Pym, Bastwick and Burton were released from prison. The **High Commission Court** and **Council of the North** were also abolished.

(4) Statutes were also passed declaring Ship-money, benevolences, the levying of Tonnage and Poundage, and "Impositions" to be illegal, limiting the King's claims on forests, and prohibiting fines for not taking up knighthood. The independence of the judges was secured by passing a law, which enabled them to hold office as long as they faithfully discharged their duties—"dum se bene gesserint,"—and not during the King's pleasure.

(5) **The Root-and-Branch Bill and the Split in the Parliamentary Party, 1641.** Hitherto the action of the Commons had been unanimous, but the attempt to settle ecclesiastical affairs split up the members into two well-defined parties. Most of the leading members of the House were Puritans, who were burning to avenge themselves on the Bishops for the tyrannical doings of Laud and the Star Chamber. Accordingly, one of their number, Sir Edward Dering, supported by Pym and Hampden, brought in a Bill known as the **Root-and-Branch Bill**, which enacted that the Bishops should be abolished, and the control of the

Church placed in the hands of nine lay commissioners. But the Bill never got beyond the second reading. There were many influential members of the House, such as **Edward Hyde** and **Lord Falkland**, who in their deep attachment for the Church, Episcopacy and the Prayer Book, would not consent to the Bill. After much fierce debating, the promoters of the Bill deemed it advisable to drop it altogether.

NOTE.—**The Incident, 1641.** In 1641 Charles went to Scotland, ostensibly to give his consent to the Acts abolishing Episcopacy in that country, but in reality to persuade the Scots to take up arms against the English Parliament. To gain his end, Charles granted every request which the Scots laid before him. During his stay, a somewhat mysterious event known as the “**Incident**” occurred, which only served to increase his unpopularity. Some of the more violent nobles of his Court, formed the wild scheme of seizing Argyll, Hamilton and other Presbyterian leaders. The plot was detected, and although Charles vehemently declared that he knew nothing whatever of it, he got much of the discredit of it, and returned to England more unpopular than ever.

**3. The Irish Rebellion, 1641.** While Charles was in Scotland, a terrible rebellion broke out in the sister country, Ireland. There were at that time two chief parties in Ireland, the descendants of the old Norman settlers, mostly Roman Catholics, who wished all the laws against their religion repealed, and the native Irish landowners, who were anxious to regain those lands, which had been taken from them by the English settlers. The removal of the iron hand of Strafford, and the dissensions between the King and the Parliament in England, had weakened Charles’s government in Ireland, and seemed to offer to both parties a favourable opportunity of each gaining their wishes. A plot was formed by a few desperate Irish leaders to seize Dublin and overthrow the Government. The plot was, however, detected, and the native Irish, lead by **Phelim O’Neil**, turned savagely upon the unarmed colonists of Ulster. The rebels called themselves the “*Confederate Catholics*,” and bound themselves *to defend the public and free exercise of the true Roman Catholic Religion*. No words can adequately picture the horrors, which accompanied this insurrection. Thousands were barbarously murdered, or tortured to death; helpless

women were driven out of their homes, only to die of cold and starvation; even children were slaughtered before the eyes of their parents, while at Portadown, hundreds of victims were driven into the river and drowned. "Some were burned on set purpose, others drowned for sport or pastime, and if they swam, were kept from landing with poles, or shot, or murdered in the water; many were buried quick, and some set into the earth breast high and there left to famish." It is estimated that no less than 30,000 persons perished during the revolt. In England, the tidings of these atrocities excited the greatest horror, and served only to increase the King's unpopularity. The rebels had given out, that they were acting under a Commission granted them by the King, and although the Commission was proved to be a forgery, the majority of the people in England believed that Charles had intrigued with the Irish Papists, and encouraged the massacre.

4. **The Grand Remonstrance, 1641.** When the Parliament met for the autumn session in 1641, Pym, with his usual clear-sightedness, perceived that there were *signs of a great counter-revolution in favour of Charles*. The growth of the Episcopalians, the formation of a new "royalist" party in the House, the split among the members, and the enthusiastic reception with which Charles was welcomed in London after his return from Scotland, were all facts in support of Pym's view of the situation. Moreover he saw that if an army was raised to quell the rebellion in Ireland, there was nothing to prevent the King from using it against the English Parliament. "*I hope,*" said Charles when news of the rebellion reached him, "*that this ill news of Ireland will hinder some of the follies in England.*" Charles, too, had considerably strengthened his position by effecting a reconciliation with the Scots, and negotiating for the withdrawal of their army. Pym was alarmed at the danger, which threatened the Parliamentary cause, and resolved to appeal to the nation. Accordingly the **Grand Remonstrance** was drawn up and presented to the Commons. This famous document contained 206 clauses. It was (1) an historical summary of all the arbitrary acts and mistakes of Charles since his accession; (2) a list of all the good deeds done by the Parliament; (3) and lastly a scheme for political and



religious reforms, demanding that the King should choose no ministers unless they had met with the approval of Parliament, and that all ecclesiastical matters should be referred to an Assembly of Divines nominated by Parliament. The first two sections were adopted by the whole House, but the question of "remedies and reforms" met with the fiercest opposition from Falkland and Hyde, leaders of the more moderate party, who saw that if the demands were granted, Parliament would become the supreme power in Church and State, and that the Assembly of Divines would set on foot a persecution no less rigorous than that of Laud and the Star Chamber. A long and fierce debate followed the reading of the Remonstrance. About midnight, however, it was carried *by the narrow majority of eleven*. The majority then determined to make the best use of their victory by ordering the Remonstrance to be printed and circulated among the people. One of the minority protested against this proceeding, whereupon a scene of the wildest confusion ensued. Some waved their hats over their heads, others snatched their swords from their scabbards, and the tumult was only quelled by the "*calmness and great sagacity of Mr. Hampden*." Both parties considered the passing of the Remonstrance as a crisis in the struggle. "*Had it been rejected*," said Cromwell as he left the House, "*I would have sold to-morrow all I possessed and left England for ever*."

5. **The Arrest of the Five Members, 1642.** On his return from Scotland, Charles issued a proclamation announcing that he intended to govern according to the laws, and to maintain the Protestant Religion as it had been established by Elizabeth and her father, Henry VIII. He had now a chance of making himself leader of a strong "royalist" party, and of regaining something at least of his lost prerogative, but he very unwisely threw away his chance, by attempting to seize some of the more obnoxious members in the House. The mistrust, which the Commons entertained of the King's intentions, had gradually increased since the time he had removed the "guard," which Essex had placed round the House. Frequent riots had occurred in the city, and scuffles had taken place between the officers, who crowded round Whitehall, and the city apprentices. The Commons were naturally very apprehensive for their

own safety, but Charles solemnly promised that "*he would protect every one of them from violence as completely as his own children.*" Meanwhile a rumour reached Charles that the popular leaders proposed to impeach the Queen of intriguing with the Pope and the Irish rebels, and Charles was determined to forestall them. He proceeded to impeach **Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrigg and Stroud** in the Commons, and **Kimbolton** in the Lords, of having invited the Scots to invade England, and, by so doing, "of having conspired to levy arms against the King." But the Commons doubted, whether the King had legally the right to impeach at all, and so they paid no heed to the charge. In fact it soon became evident that they intended to protect the **Five Members**, and when Charles discovered this, he resolved to go down to the House in person and arrest them. He was, moreover, urged to take this very unwise step by the reproaches of the Queen. "Go," she said, "*and pull the rascals out by the ears.*" Accordingly, on the 4th of January, he went down to the House, attended by 500 armed men, including "*divers desperate ruffians.*" But the "Five Members" had received timely notice of his intention, and had fled into the city. Leaving his armed followers outside the House, Charles advanced to the Speaker's chair, and standing in front of it, hurriedly scanned the whole assembly. He saw that the Five Members were not there. "*Where are they,*" he asked the Speaker. Lenthall fell humbly on his knees, and said, "*May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me.*" "Well, well," said Charles in an angry tone, "*'tis no matter, I think my eyes are as good as another's.*" A dead silence ensued, while Charles once more carefully looked over the benches. "*I see,*" said he, at last, "*the birds are flown, but I do expect you will send them to me. If you do not,*" he added, "*I shall seek them myself,*" and amidst the angry cries of "Privilege, privilege," ringing in his ears, he left the House, "in a more discontented and angry passion, than when he came in." The whole city, which only a few weeks before had so enthusiastically welcomed Charles, now declared for the Commons. In vain Charles demanded of the city magistrates the surrender of the traitors, till at last

mortified by the failure of his scheme, he hastily left the capital, never again to return until the day he was brought back to be tried for his life. The day after his departure, the "Five Members" were escorted back to Westminster in triumph by the citizens.

6. **Preparations for War.** It was now evident that the question at issue could only be settled by an appeal to the sword, and both parties began to prepare for the conflict. Both the King and the Parliament had the greatest difficulty in collecting the necessary funds for the war, but as the Parliament controlled the financial resources of the government, its position was stronger than that of the King. Charles sent his wife to Holland to pawn or sell the magnificent Crown jewels, and so raise money for the war. Meanwhile, negotiations between the King and Parliament were still going forward. Both Houses sent in a bill for excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords, and Charles, to gain time, gave the royal assent to it. The Commons then asked Charles to give his assent to the **Militia Bill**, transferring the command of the militia and the fortresses to officers chosen by themselves. "*Not for an hour,*" was Charles's angry answer.

Matters came to a crisis, when Charles appeared outside **Hull**, and was refused admittance by **Sir John Hotham**, the Parliamentary general, who told him that he took orders from the Parliament alone. Shortly after the Commons asked Charles to accept the **Nineteen Propositions**, demanding the power of appointing and dismissing the King's ministers, governors of fortresses and judges; naming the guardians of the royal children, and practically controlling all military, civil, and religious affairs. Charles indignantly rejected the proposals. "*If,*" said he, "*I granted your demands, I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king.*" Both sides now began to collect forces, and in August, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and bade all his friends join him. *This was the signal for war.*

#### SECTION IV.—THE GREAT REBELLION AND FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

1. **General Character of the Rebellion.** The struggle, which convulsed England for the next nine years, was in the main a struggle for "*supremacy.*" It was now to be decided, who

was to rule England, the King or the Parliament. Strange to say, both parties believed that they were fighting on behalf of constitutional authority. On the one hand, Charles maintained that he had taken up arms "to protect the ancient constitution against the encroachments of Parliamentary factions, who wished to degrade the Crown and destroy the Church." On the other hand, the Parliamentary leaders maintained that, although they were fighting against the King, they had no wish to abolish monarchy; they were fighting, they said, to protect the ancient liberties of the State. They professed the greatest respect for the Crown, and even used the King's name in their acts and documents. Generally speaking, the majority of the nobles and gentry were on the side of the King, although there were many nobles, who took the side of the Parliament, and distinguished themselves both in the council and in the field; while the mass of the yeomanry and the middle-class townspeople, and especially the landowners, took up the Parliamentary cause. The Eastern Counties and those round London, and the "clothing" towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire and Somerset were for the Parliament; while the majority of the inhabitants of the counties in the North and the West and in Wales declared for the King.

Charles made the **Earl of Lindsay** general of his army, and **Prince Rupert**, his nephew, commander of the cavalry. His other generals were, Newcastle, Hopton, and Wilmot. On the Parliamentary side the generals were, **Essex** (commander-in-chief), Manchester, Waller, Fairfax, and Cromwell.

2. **Campaign of 1642.** Charles's plan was to push on towards London, before the Parliamentary troops were ready, and so end the war at a single blow. Essex, however, came upon the royal forces drawn up in a strong position at **Edgehill**, near Banbury. In one gallant charge Prince Rupert swept the Parliamentary cavalry off the field, but his reckless cavaliers were so elated with the victory, that they followed the fugitives for some miles, leaving the King with the infantry unsupported. Meanwhile, the Parliamentary infantry under Essex, after a hot fight, broke through the royal foot, and captured the King's standard and the whole of his artillery, and when Prince Rupert returned from the

pursuit, he found that it had been a drawn battle. Both parties claimed the victory, but the real advantage lay with the King. Essex retreated slowly towards London, and Charles followed him. As soon as the London citizens were alive to the danger, which threatened their city, the trained-bands under the command of **Skippon** turned out to a man, and marched towards **Turnham Green**. "*Come on, my brave boys,*" said their general, as he rode amongst them, "*let us pray heartily and fight heartily; remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and your children.*" At Turnham Green, they threw up a strong line of earthworks, resolved to defend their city or perish in the attempt. For a whole day the two armies stood facing each other. Charles had not the courage to attack the lines, and so he marched his army back to Oxford. *The retreat of that day proved his ruin.* He was never again so near a chance of victory.

**3. Campaign of 1643.** The campaign of 1643 was for the most part confined to four different districts :

(1) **Between Oxford and London.** During the early part of the year, the main armies of the King and Parliament lay inactive. In April, however, Essex advanced and took Reading, but had not the heart to push on to Oxford. A little later Prince Rupert made a bold dash into the rear of the Parliamentary quarters, and Hampden, in trying to cut off the Prince's retreat, was badly wounded at **Chalgrove**, and rode off the field before the action was over, "*with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse, which he never used to do.*" A few days later, he died in great agony at his house in Thame.

(2) **In Yorkshire.** At **Adwalton** (pronounced Atherton), near Bradford, Newcastle totally defeated Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the whole of Yorkshire, with the exception of Hull, fell into his hands.

(3) **In the West.** At **Stratton**, Sir Ralph Hopton, with an army of loyal Cornishmen, defeated the Earl of Stamford and secured the whole of Cornwall for the King. He then advanced through Devon and Somerset, and defeated Sir William Waller, one of the ablest of the Parliamentary generals, at **Lansdown** near Bath, and completed his



triumph by overthrowing the same general at **Roundway Down**, near Devizes. **Bristol** was stormed and taken by Prince Rupert.

(4) In the **Eastern Counties**. Meanwhile, Cromwell with his keen insight into military matters had detected the weak point in the Parliamentary army. "Your troops," he had said to Hampden, "are most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters and such kind of fellows, and their troops are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirit of such base and mean fellows will be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill, what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit, that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still." Hampden thought the idea impracticable, but Cromwell thought otherwise, and was determined to put it into execution. He formed a company of horse, every man of which was fired with religious enthusiasm, and at the same time subject to the most severe discipline. "*My troops*," he wrote, "*increase. They are a lovely company. You would respect them did you know them.*" No blasphemy, drunkenness or impiety of any kind was allowed in the ranks; "*Not a man swears*," said Cromwell, "*but he pays his twelve pence.*" He extended this plan of raising an army to the levies of the "**Eastern Association**," including the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge and Huntingdon, and in a few months he had organized a most efficient body of cavalry. His ability as a cavalry leader was soon recognized. At **Gainsborough** he totally routed the royal forces, and saved Lincolnshire for the Parliament.

4. **Siege of Gloucester and First Battle of Newbury, 1643.** Charles's plan was, that Hopton from the West, and Newcastle from the North should simultaneously march on London, but the rude soldiers of both these armies cared more for their own property and families than for the King's cause, and refused to march with their leaders. Charles was, therefore, compelled to lay siege to Gloucester, which was the stronghold of the Parliament in the West. London felt that if Gloucester was captured its own doom was fixed, and so amidst the wildest enthusiasm an army of 15,000 men, well

clothed and well armed, and "*convinced that God had called them to do the work,*" was raised, and with Essex at their head was soon on its way to relieve the beleaguered city. Charles, however, was resolved not to risk a battle in his siege lines, and so he abandoned the town, and Essex entered it unopposed. The inhabitants regarded his arrival as a divine interposition and testified their gratitude by placing over the gates of their city, the inscription, "*A city assailed by man, but saved by God.*" But Charles was by no means daunted. His next move was to attempt to cut off Essex's retreat to London. The Parliamentary army came upon the Royal forces entrenched at **Newbury**. A fierce battle ensued, in which the solid masses of the London trained-bands "stood as a bulwark and rampart" against Rupert's horse, and defied their desperate charges. Night only parted the combatants, and Charles, finding that his ammunition was well nigh exhausted, and that the losses among his troops were heavy, ordered a retreat to Oxford, leaving the road open for Essex to continue his march to London unopposed.

**NOTE.**—In this battle Lord Falkland, the wisest and most moderate of the King's counsellors fell. He had long been "*weary of the times,*" and his natural cheerfulness and vivacity left him, and he sank into a sad and dejected mood, which told upon his bodily health, and he went about murmuring "*Peace! peace!*" His loyalty and attachment to Charles had induced him to take up the Royalist cause, but his refined spirit had nothing in common with the rough and boisterous soldiers of a cavalier camp. On the morning of the fatal day, he was heard to say, "*that he would be out of it ere night,*" and in the battle he spurred his horse more gallantly than advisedly through a gap in a hedge, and soon met his death.

Meanwhile Newcastle had laid siege to Hull, but a successful sortie compelled him to raise the siege. On the same day, Cromwell signally defeated a body of Royalist horse in an engagement known as **Winceby Fight** (1643).

5. **The Alliances with the Scots and the Irish.** The events in the campaign of 1643 clearly proved that both sides were so evenly balanced, that the war was not likely to be speedily terminated without the assistance of forces outside England, and so Charles began to cast about for assistance from Ireland, while Parliament entered into negotiations with the Scots.

After the terrible massacre of 1641 in Ireland, the native Irish joined the descendants of the ancient Anglo-Norman settlers, and under the name of the "Catholic Confederates," carried on a war with the **Marquis of Ormonde**, Strafford's successor. In a short time the rebels occupied nearly the whole of the country, but the English Parliament was too much occupied with their own affairs to attempt their subjugation. Charles now concluded a treaty with the "*Catholic Confederates*" called the "**Cessation**," by which it was arranged, that 10,000 Papists should cross over into England to assist him against the Parliament. This alliance with the perpetrators of the "Ulster Massacre" of 1641 did Charles's cause much harm in England.

Meanwhile Pym had concluded a Treaty with the Scots known as the **Solemn League and Covenant**, in virtue of which the Scots agreed to send an army of 20,000 men over the Border to help Parliament against the King, while the Parliament bound itself "to defray the expenses of the Scottish army, and to maintain the Scottish Kirk, to reform religion in England and Ireland, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches, and to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism and profaneness." An Assembly of Presbyterian Divines sat at Westminster to carry out these religious alterations.

NOTE.—This alliance with the Scots was Pym's last work. He died six weeks after the Treaty was signed.

6. **Campaign of 1644, and Battle of Marston Moor.** About the same time as the Scots crossed the Tweed under Alexander Leslie (now the Earl of Leven), an Irish contingent, which had been freed from service in Ireland by the "Cessation," landed in England to assist Charles. At Nantwich, however, they were suddenly attacked and routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and more than half of the men, who were made prisoners, entered into the service of the Parliamentary army. Meanwhile the Scots had effected a junction with Fairfax, and their combined forces compelled Newcastle and his army to seek refuge in **York**, where they besieged him. Newcastle was so alarmed that he sent to Charles for assistance, and Charles, although he could ill

spare a single man, despatched Prince Rupert with a body of 10,000 cavalry to the Duke's aid. On his approach, the besiegers retreated, and being joined by the army of the "Associated Counties" under Manchester and Cromwell, took up their position on **Marston Moor**. *Here was fought on July 2nd, the first really decisive battle of the war.* The armies numbered on each side about 20,000 men. On the Royalist left, Lord Goring with his Northern horse put to flight in a furious rout the whole of the forces of Sir Thomas Fairfax and part of the Parliamentary centre, and then turned fiercely round upon the Scots. On the Royalists' right, Rupert's cavalry gallantly resisted the desperate assaults of Cromwell's horse, and "*a pretty while the combatants stood at the sword's point hacking one another,*" till at last Cromwell's well-trained Ironsides of the Association Army scattered Rupert's cavaliers "*like dust,*" and drove them in headlong flight off the field. Cromwell then brought up his troopers to assist the Scots, who were hard pressed in the centre. In a furious charge he broke the Royalist infantry under Newcastle, and then attacked the forces of Goring as they straggled back to the main body weary and disorganized. "*We never charged but we routed the enemy,*" boasted Cromwell; "*God made them as stubble to our swords.*" The victory was wholly on the side of the Parliament, and the cause of the Royalists in the North perished at a blow. York opened its gates to the conquerors, Newcastle fled in despair to Flanders, and Rupert, with the greatest difficulty, rallied 6,500 horse, and found his way back to Oxford. *The whole of the country north of the Humber fell into the hands of the Parliament.*

But the disaster of Marston Moor was almost balanced by the Royalist gains in the south. At **Cropredy Bridge**, Charles inflicted a signal defeat on Waller, after which the Parliamentary trained-bands were so dispirited that they melted away. Charles then pursued Essex into Cornwall, and at **Lostwithiel** so completely surrounded him that the whole of his infantry capitulated, and Essex himself escaped with difficulty in a boat to Plymouth.

7. **Second Battle of Newbury, 1644.** To check the King in his advance on London, Manchester's victorious army was

summoned from Yorkshire, and met Charles at **Newbury**. Here a second battle was fought, but owing to the indecision of Manchester, Charles was allowed with a very inferior force to hold his own, and make good his retreat to Oxford.

**NOTE.—Execution of Laud.** In the beginning of the year 1645, Archbishop Laud, who had already lingered in prison for three years, was dragged from his place of confinement, and put on his trial before the House of Lords. Both Presbyterians and Independents had suffered much under Laud's arbitrary rule, and both were determined to show their hatred of his system by bringing in a Bill of Attainder against him. Although he ably defended himself, he was condemned to death and went resolutely to the scaffold, asserting "*that he died a martyr of the Church of England and not the victim of his political doings.*" His execution was an unpardonable act of cruelty, done more than anything to spite the King and to satisfy the religious bigotry of the Presbyterians and Independents.

8. **Rise of Cromwell.** Cromwell was a country squire of Cambridgeshire, and sat in the Long Parliament as the representative of the town of Cambridge. On the breaking out of the civil war, he appeared at the battle of Edgehill at the head of a troop of horse of his own raising. His capacity for organization showed itself in the formation of the "Association Horse," while his efficient generalship is nowhere better seen than in the victory of Marston Moor. After Second Newbury he appears in a new light—that of an astute politician.

The two great religious parties, which now began to make themselves felt both in the Parliament and in the Army, and played so important a part in the history of the next ten years were the **Presbyterians** and **Independents**. The **Presbyterians** aimed at establishing one great uniform Church on the model of the Church in Scotland. There was to be no toleration; men of all denominations, Papists, Episcopalians, Nonconformists and Independents were to be driven into the fold of the Church. They wished to make peace with the King, and restore him to at least a nominal power. They formed a strong majority in the House of Commons, and were led by Holles. The **Independents** on the other hand, wished that each congregation should be "independent" in itself, and not subject to any outside control. Their name embraced the Anabaptists, Levellers,



Fifth Monarchy Men and many other violent Sectaries, and although they differed from each other in many points of their religious beliefs, they were united in opposing the authority of a Church appointed by the State and a compulsory uniformity. They wished to render the war decisive by crushing the King altogether. Of this latter party Cromwell was the acknowledged leader, and the inaction of Manchester at the second battle of Newbury offered him the very opportunity, which he so much desired. "If the King be beaten," urged Manchester at Newbury, "he will still be King; if he beat us he will hang us all as traitors." Cromwell's answer bespeaks the determined character of the man. "*If I met Charles Stuart in battle,*" said he, "*I would shoot him as soon as any other man.*" He therefore boldly accused his Commander-in-chief in the House of having wilfully neglected to render the battle of Newbury decisive. "*Without a more speedy, vigorous and effective prosecution of the war,*" he said to the Commons, "*we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament. The present leaders are afraid to conquer.*"

The practical outcome of the quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell was the **Self-Denying Ordinance** and the **New Model Army**. There was a widely-spread belief among the Independents that the Parliamentary generals were deliberately protracting the war for their own personal advantage, and Cromwell spoke openly about the necessity of their "*denying themselves*" for the public good. Accordingly the Self-Denying Ordinance was brought forward, *by which all members of both Houses were compelled to resign their commissions in the army within forty days.* Manchester, Essex and Waller resigned at once, and retired into private life, but **Cromwell**, who was generally acknowledged to be the best cavalry officer in the Parliamentary army, was allowed to retain his post as Lieutenant-General with the command of the horse. **Sir Thomas Fairfax** was made Commander-in-Chief.

Following the lines laid down in the formation of his Ironsides, Cromwell set to work to "remodel" the whole Parliamentary army. He mustered 20,000 "*honest men, zealous and willing,*" and placed them "*under uniform command, stern*

*discipline and regular pay.*" The officers, too, were carefully selected; "*plain, russet-coated captains*" of strong earnest Puritanical convictions. "Be careful," he wrote, "what captains of horse you choose, what men be mounted. A few honest men are better than numbers. If you choose godly, honest men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them." In this way he was soon at the head of one of the finest armies the world has ever seen.

NOTE.—Meanwhile negotiations for peace were set on foot at Uxbridge. The Parliament demanded that Charles should establish Presbyterianism, surrender the militia, and discontinue the war with Ireland, but he refused to agree to these demands, and so the negotiations were again broken off.

9. **The Battle of Naseby, 1645.** The King opened the campaign of 1645 with great energy. He led his army northward, and stormed the strong Parliamentary town of **Leicester**. Fairfax, who was busily engaged in blockading Oxford, was ordered to abandon the siege and march in pursuit of the Royal forces. Being joined by Cromwell, he came up with the King at **Naseby**. The two armies were very unequally matched. The Royalists numbered only 9,000 men, while Fairfax had 14,000, but Charles had every confidence of success, and was eager to begin the battle. "*Never,*" he wrote, "*have my affairs been in so good a state.*" Prince Rupert led the attack. In a furious charge he routed Ireton, but as was his wont, rode recklessly off in pursuit of the flying enemy. In the centre, the Parliamentary infantry slowly gave way, but on the King's left, Cromwell and his Ironsides broke to pieces the Cavaliers of the North, and then turned his well-trained men upon the half-victorious Royalists in the centre. By this time Rupert had returned with his exhausted troops, only to find that the victory was in the hands of the enemy. "*Give one more charge,*" cried Charles in the passion of despair, but he could no longer rally his men, and was soon himself in headlong flight. The Royalist foot were ridden down or captured, and only 2,000 horse remained, and these escorted the King back to Oxford. All the King's artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, and even his secret despatches containing a record of his negotiations for assistance with the Irish Catholics and foreign princes.

*With the Battle of Naseby the Civil War was practically at an end. Charles was never again in a position to put an army in the field.*

NOTE.—**Montrose in Scotland.** While the cause of Charles in England was gradually falling to ruin, **James Graham, Marquis of Montrose**, was gaining some successes for the Royalist cause in Scotland. Montrose had little ability as a politician, but possessed in a wonderful degree all the qualities, which characterize an efficient and practical soldier. He had been dissatisfied with the Covenant, and having raised the Royalist standard in the Highlands, soon found himself at the head of a very formidable army. At **Inverlochy**, near Ben Nevis, he almost annihilated the whole clan of the Campbells, and marching southwards gained a complete victory over the Covenanters at **Kilsyth**, and afterwards entered Glasgow. This victory laid the greater part of Scotland at his feet. "*I shall come,*" he wrote to Charles, "*with a brave army, which will make the rebels in England as well as those in Scotland feel the just rewards of rebellion.*" Flushed with success he approached the English Border, but his Highland troops, eager to save the booty, which they had acquired, gradually melted away to their own homes. At **Philiphaugh** the Great Marquis was surprised by a Scottish army under Leslie, and his little band of followers cut to pieces. With this disaster the Royalist cause in Scotland was ruined, and Montrose fled a fugitive to the Highlands.

10. **The end of the War in England.** Although the Royalists had suffered so terrible an overthrow at Naseby, their spirit was by no means broken, and the fighting was still continued. In the summer of 1645 Charles marched northward to join Montrose, but was met and defeated by Poyntz, the Parliamentary general on **Rowton Heath**. Shortly afterwards he received the news of the crushing defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh. In the West of England, Fairfax overthrew Goring at **Langport**, and advancing Northward compelled Prince Rupert to surrender at **Bristol**. Charles was so enraged at his submission, that he would hear of no excuse, and angrily dismissed him from his service. In the spring of 1646, Fairfax was again in the field. He took Exeter, routed Hopton at **Torrington**, and finally succeeded in driving him into Cornwall, where he capitulated. Meanwhile Cromwell had captured **Winchester**; **Basing-House** also fell, but only after a desperate struggle, and the whole of the South fell into his hands. At **Stow-in-the-Wold**, Sir Jacob Astley, the last of the King's guards, surrendered.

"*You have done your work now,*" said he to his conquerors, "*and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves.*" A few more castles and fortresses still held out, but the capitulation of **Oxford** to Fairfax on June 24th, 1646, practically brought the war to a close.

**11. Charles gives himself up to the Scots, 1646.** Charles had now only two courses open to him, he must either fly the country, or surrender himself to his enemies. Prompted by the belief that the Scots would join the English Royalists and restore him to his throne, he determined to place himself in their hands, and in May, 1646, he rode to the head-quarters of the Scottish Army at **Southwell, near Newark**. The Scots, however, would not consent to help him, unless he agreed to sign the Covenant, abolish Episcopacy and impose Presbyterianism on England. This Charles resolutely refused to do. He had such an overweening belief in his own powers of diplomacy, that he hoped so to play off his enemies one against each other, as to be able in the long run to secure good terms for himself. "*I am not without hope,*" he wrote, "*that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, so that I shall be really king again.*" Disgusted beyond measure at the King's refusal to accept the terms, the Scots bargained with the English Parliament to hand him over to the Parliamentary Commissioners, and go back to Scotland, on condition of their receiving the arrears of pay due to them for their services in England. Accordingly, a sum amounting to £400,000 was paid to them by the English Parliament, and leaving the King a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, they retreated across the Border. Charles was removed by order of the Parliament to **Holmby House** in Northamptonshire.

**12. Dispute between the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent Army, 1647.** The departure of the Scots out of England naturally raised the question among the members of the House, what was to be done with the New Model Army. The general opinion was that it ought to be disbanded, and there were several reasons why this step was considered necessary: (1) The war was now over, and there was no longer any need of the Army; (2) The expense

of maintaining a standing army had rendered the taxation most oppressive; (3) The army was the stronghold of the Independents, who were the most bitter enemies of the Presbyterians. But in carrying out this scheme the Presbyterian members, who were in the majority, acted very unwisely. They proposed that the soldiers should be paid only one-sixth of the arrears lawfully due to them. This step had the effect of uniting the whole Army to oppose the scheme of disbandment. The soldiers proceeded to elect two representatives from each regiment, called **Agitators** or **Agents**, who should act with a council of officers to protect their interests. They refused to disband unless the whole of the arrears due to them was paid, and proceeded to pass an Act of Indemnity for all illegal actions done as "acts of war." But the Presbyterian Commons imagined that they were complete masters of the situation, and so they not only refused to grant the demands of the soldiers, but took active measures to suppress the Army altogether as being "*an enemy to the State and a disturber of the public peace.*" They entered into negotiations with the Scots to invade England, and assist the Presbyterian and Royalist armies in restoring the King to power. Charles was to be removed from Holmby House out of the reach of the army. Cromwell, however, had been informed of the whole scheme, and was determined to forestall the Parliament. On June 3rd, Cornet Joyce with five hundred troopers, acting under Cromwell's orders, suddenly appeared before Holmby House, and demanded the person of the King, "*Where is your commission?*" asked Charles of the Cornet, as he stepped forth on the lawn. "*There is my commission,*" answered Joyce, pointing to his line of soldiers. "*It is written in fair and legible characters enough,*" replied the King laughing. But Charles would not consent to be removed, until he had exacted a promise from Joyce to treat him with the honour and respect due to his position, and not compel him to do anything against his honour or his conscience. "*It is not our maxim,*" replied the Cornet, "*to constrain the conscience of anyone, still less that of our King.*" With this assurance, Charles allowed himself to be escorted to Newmarket, near which place the Army lay encamped.



13. **The Army and the King, and the Heads of the Proposals, 1647.** Meanwhile the news of the King's abduction completely staggered the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons. They made some futile attempts to raise troops and defend the capital, but the Independent army was already on the march, and on the 7th of August occupied London. Eleven of the Presbyterian members, including Holles, fled in dismay to the Continent, and from this moment the real administration of affairs passed into the hands of the army. Meanwhile, Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton were labouring hard to come to a proper understanding with the King, and with this end in view Ireton had drawn up a constitutional scheme for the settlement of the nation called the **Heads of the Proposals** and presented it to Charles at Hampton Court.

**NOTE.**—The **Heads of the Proposals** provided that the King should be restored to the throne on the following conditions:

(1) That a Parliament should meet every two years and sit 120 days; (2) That the representation of the Commons should be reformed by abolishing small boroughs and increasing the number of members for the counties, so as to render the House of Commons as near as might be an equal representative of the whole; (3) That the power over the militia should be vested in the Parliament for ten years, and that the King's ministers should be appointed by the Parliament for the same time; (4) That complete religious liberty should be given to all except Papists.

Charles had now his last chance. The "Heads of the Proposals" were far more liberal terms than the Presbyterian Parliament had ever offered him, but he hoped that the dissension between the Army and the Parliament might be turned to still better account, and so in an evil hour he rejected the "Proposals," and entered into an agreement with the Scots.

But the King's duplicity, and the impossibility of ever being able to conclude any treaty with him, had changed the views of the Army. "*The king,*" said Cromwell, "*is a man of great parts and great understanding, but so great a dissembler and so false a man that he is not to be trusted.*" Cries were raised that the House of Peers should be abolished, and a new House of Commons summoned, and some of the officers even spoke of bringing Charles to justice

for the bloodshed he had caused. Aware that his life was in danger, Charles eluded his captors and escaped to the Isle of Wight, but only to find himself a close prisoner in **Carisbrooke Castle** in the hands of Colonel Hammond, the Governor of the Island. Although a prisoner at Carisbrooke, Charles still continued to carry on his intrigues with the Scots, Presbyterians and the Royalists. With the Scots he concluded a treaty called the **Engagement**, in virtue of which he agreed to abolish Episcopacy in England for three years, and suppress all heresy, if the Scots would advance into England and secure his restoration to power. Charles was delighted with the outlook. "*The two nations,*" he wrote, in his exuberance of spirit, "*will soon be at war.*" The knowledge of this treaty only served to strengthen the belief, that it was utterly futile to attempt any negotiations with the King, and the Parliament passed a vote of "*No Addresses,*" in which it was resolved, that no message should be received from Charles, or application made to him under penalties of high treason. This Bill for the time being put an end to all negotiations between the King and Parliament.

14. **The Second Civil War, 1648.** The plot, which Charles had been for some time fermenting, soon developed into open rebellion. Men of all classes were dissatisfied with the Army and the burdensome taxation needed for its support, and both Presbyterians and Royalists alike joined the Scots against the Parliament. But the absence of any preconcerted plan rendered all their attempts abortive.

(1) **Rising in Kent and the Battle of Maidstone, 1648.** Alive to the danger, Parliament and the Army waived their differences, and directed all their energies to suppress the wide-spread rebellion. Fairfax was at once despatched to suppress the rising in Kent. At **Maidstone**, he routed the main body of the insurgents and drove them across the Thames into Essex. At **Colchester** they made a desperate stand, in the hope of being relieved by the Scots, but Fairfax attacked them so vigorously, that they were compelled to capitulate. So fierce was the spirit of the soldiers against the rebels that the leaders, **Sir Charles Lucas** and **Sir George Lisle**, were actually shot in cold blood on the spot.

(2) **Risings in Wales and the North.** Meanwhile Cromwell had struck down the Royalist rising in Wales with relentless severity, and taken Pembroke and Tenby Castles. He was now free to act against the Scots, who had already crossed the Border under the Duke of Hamilton, and joined the insurgents. Their numbers amounted to 24,000 men, but they were no match for the well-disciplined forces of the New Model. At **Preston**, and again at **Wigan**, Cromwell utterly routed the insurgents, and after three days' hard fight, the rebel infantry surrendered themselves at **Warrington**, and the cavalry at **Utttoxeter**. *The Second Civil War was at an end.*

**NOTE.**—The Treaty (i.e. Negotiation) of Newport, 1648. While the Army was busily engaged in suppressing the Royalist Rebellions, the Presbyterian members in the House managed to regain their power. They annulled the vote of "*No Addresses*," and once more opened negotiations with the King. Fifteen Commissioners met Charles in person at Newport. But the King had no intention of coming to terms, and only trifled with the Commissioners until he could make good his escape, or obtain help from Ireland or the Continent, and so the negotiations came to nothing.

15. **Pride's Purge, 1648.** The Second Civil War sealed Charles's fate. Just before the soldiers started on their march against the Royalists, they declared "that it was their duty, if ever the Lord brought them back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, 'that man of blood,' to account for the blood he had shed, and the mischief he had done against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation." On their return, they embodied their views in a document, drawn up by Ireton, called the **Remonstrance of the Army**, denouncing Charles as responsible for the war, refusing to open further negotiations with him on the ground that he would not keep his promises, and demanding that he should be brought to justice. They then determined to get possession of the King's person. By the order of the Army Charles was removed from Carisbrooke, and placed under a strict guard in **Hurst Castle**, a gloomy fortress on a tongue of land jutting out into the Solent. Their next step was to get rid of the Presbyterian members, who were in the majority in the House, and whose sympathies were known to be on the side of the King. To effect this, **Colonel Pride**

went down to the House with a body of soldiers on the morning of October 3rd, and *forcibly turned away ninety-six Presbyterian members, warning them not to appear again.* The remaining members were Independents and numbered about fifty or sixty, one-third of the whole House. They took upon themselves the government of the nation, but were in reality mere puppets in the hands of the Army, and were contemptuously called the "Rump."

16. **Trial and Execution of the King, 1649.** On January 1st, 1649, the members of the "Rump" voted, that "*to levy war against the Parliament and Realm of England was high treason,*" and proceeded to appoint a High Court of Justice consisting of 135 Commissioners, to try Charles for that offence. The Lords, however, refused to take any part in the proceeding, whereupon the Commons declared that as the representatives of the people, they themselves formed the supreme power in England. Sixty-eight of the Commissioners drew back, when they saw that the King's life was aimed at. Even Fairfax absented himself; and when his name was called over, his wife cried out, "*He is not here and never will be; you do wrong to name him.*" But Cromwell, who was the moving spirit of those who clamoured for the King's death, stood at nothing. "*I tell you,*" said he, "*we will cut off the king's head with the crown on it.*"

On January 20th, Charles was brought to Whitehall, and the next morning the trial began. From beginning to end it was a mere form of justice, under which his enemies sought to hide the hideousness of their doings. Charles refused to plead, on the ground that the court appointed to try him had no legal authority, and that his subjects had no right to sit in judgment upon their King. No doubt he was right, but as Bradshaw, the President, pointed out, no court would allow its own jurisdiction to be called in question. The trial was spun out for six days. On the 27th, the court, as might have been expected, found Charles guilty of being "*a tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy to the good people of this nation, and ordered him to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body.*" As he was led from the Court, the soldiers shouted fiercely, "Execution! Execution!"; but the people, who filled the shop-stalls and windows from

Westminster to Whitehall, shed tears, and "with audible voices" prayed for the King as he passed along.

On January 30th, Charles was led out to execution on a scaffold erected in front of the windows of Whitehall. He met his end with dignity and resignation, and "*did nothing common or mean upon that memorable occasion.*" He took a loving farewell of his two youngest children, and received the last consolations of religion from the holy Bishop Juxon. The streets and even the roofs of the houses were thronged with sympathizing spectators. A strong body of soldiers kept guard round the scaffold. In a brief speech, Charles said that the Parliament, and not he, had been guilty of the Civil War, and that if he had assented to an arbitrary sway, to have all things changed according to the power of the sword, he need not have come thither, and that therefore he died "a martyr" to the people. "As for the people," said he, "I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever, but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consist of their having those laws by which their lives and goods are most **their own**. It is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining unto them." Finally, he said that he died a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, which he had always striven to maintain. With unflinching courage he then laid his head upon the block and at one blow with the axe all was over. The executioner held the head on high, and cried, "*Behold the head of a traitor.*" A groan of pity escaped the lips of the horror-stricken spectators—"such a groan," writes an eye-witness, "as I never heard before, and desire I may never hear again." Thereupon, two troops of horse galloped up, and roughly dispersed the crowd.

NOTE 1.—On the illegality of Charles's trial it may be remarked; (a) That it would have been just as legal to have brought Charles before a court-martial, and to have ordered a body of soldiers to shoot him, as to have forcibly turned away the ninety-six Presbyterian members from the House; (b) That the High Court of Justice, which sat in judgment on the King had no "legal" existence, and the protest of the Lords against the action of the Commons was completely ignored. (c) That the charge brought against Charles was, that he had levied war against the Parliament and the Realm of England, whereas



the real crime was that he had intrigued to bring foreign troops into England with a view to subdue Parliament.

NOTE 2.—The illegality of the King's trial, the malignity of his enemies, the calm and dignified composure, which marked his last moments, went far to remove the unfavourable impression which his tyranny and duplicity had engendered in the popular mind. People forgot his faults, and for years afterwards "King Charles was regarded as a martyr, and his memory revered with almost religious worship."

## THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE.

1649—1660 (11 years).

### SECTION I.—THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649—1653

(4 years).

Establishment of the Commonwealth. Opposition to the Commonwealth in England, and in Ireland. Massacre of Drogheda. Opposition to the Commonwealth in Scotland. Battle of Dunbar. The Dutch War. The Navigation Act. Expulsion of the Rump.

### SECTION II.—THE PROTECTORATE, 1653—1660

(7 years).

The Little or Barebone's Parliament. The Instrument of Government. The First Protectorate Parliament. The Major-Generals. Cromwell's Foreign Policy: Relations with Holland, France and Spain. Expeditions under Penn and Venables. Exploits of Blake. The Second Protectorate Parliament. The Humble Petition and Advice. Dissolution of the Second Protectorate Parliament. Cromwell's Death and Character. Richard Cromwell as Protector. The Army restores the Rump. Monk declares for a Free Parliament. The Convention Parliament and the Restoration.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

(a) **Military and Naval Commanders**:—Oliver Cromwell; Fairfax; Ireton; Lambert; Monk; Blake; Montrose; David Leslie; Van Tromp; Sir Harry Vane.

(b) **Other Names**:—John Bradshaw; Richard Cromwell; John Milton.

## LEADING DATES.

Establishment of the Commonwealth . . . . .	1649
Battle of Dunbar . . . . .	1650
Battle of Worcester . . . . .	1651
Dutch War . . . . .	1652-1654
Expulsion of the Rump . . . . .	1653
Establishment of the Protectorate . . . . .	1653
Instrument of Government . . . . .	1653
Battle of Santa Cruz . . . . .	1657
Humble Petition and Advice . . . . .	1657
Death of Oliver Cromwell . . . . .	1658
Meeting of the Convention Parliament and the Restoration . . . . .	1660

1. **Establishment of the Commonwealth.** On the death of Charles, the "Rump," as the small remnant of the Long Parliament was called, played the part of a Parliament, and took upon itself the administration of the government. It passed a series of the most sweeping measures, declaring; (1) That the House of Lords was both useless and dangerous and ought to be abolished; (2) That the government by a king was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and ought to be abolished; (3) That England should be a Commonwealth, and a Free State; (4) That the Executive Government should be carried on by a Council of State consisting of forty-one members. As most of the members of this Council were also members of the Rump, and as the attendance in Parliament seldom exceeded fifty, it was evident that the members of the Council could easily command a majority in the House, and pass all their decrees as Acts of Parliament. But the more fanatical leaders of the Army had never intended that this "mutilated form of Parliament" should be a permanent assembly with full powers of administration, and so they drew up and presented to the House a document called, "*The Agreement of the People*," demanding: (1) A re-distribution of seats according to population; (2) A free and general Parliament; (3) The creation of a Council of State, directly responsible to the House of Commons. The Rump, however, led on by a vigorous knot of politicians, clung to their power with a tenacity, which was truly wonderful. They saw that a

"free" Parliament would, to use the expression of one of their members, soon destroy "*the new-born and delicate constitution, which they had brought into existence,*" and restore the old order of things. They therefore absolutely ignored the demands of the Army.

To a practical mind like that of Cromwell, the only solution of the difficulty was, that for the present the government of the Rump should not be meddled with. In peaceful times he would not have allowed such a "burlesque of Parliamentary government" to have existed for a week, but these were times of great unrest and disquietude, and wild ideas were afloat in the Army. He therefore thought it expedient to allow the Rump to continue in power, until all opposition to the Commonwealth, both at home and abroad, should be crushed.

## 2. Opposition to the Commonwealth.

(1) The new Commonwealth was beset with difficulties and dangers. In England, the publication of a book, called "*Eikon Basilike,*" or the "Royal Likeness," portraying in vivid and impressive language the meditations, piety and sufferings of the unfortunate King while he lay in prison, rekindled the loyalty of the Royalists. It was generally believed by the Royalists that Charles himself had written the book, but the real author was Dr. Gauden, a Presbyterian minister. Its popularity was immense, and in a short time it ran through no less than forty-seven editions. So great was the impression made upon the people generally, that the Independents engaged Milton to write a rejoinder called "*Eikonoklastes,*" or the "Image-breaker," and although the author threw all his eloquence and skill into the work, he failed to counteract the good impression, which the "*Eikon Basilike*" had created.

But a far more formidable danger arose in the Army, where a body of extreme democratical republicans (called by their opponents "Levellers," because their wish was to make all men equal) aimed at subverting all social and military order. Many of the Levellers were members of fanatical religious sects, who looked forward to the immediate coming of the Millenium and the ultimate triumph of the "saints." Dissatisfied with the results of the Civil War, they

denounced the half-heartedness of the generals of the Army and especially Cromwell. "You shall scarce speak to Cromwell," said Lilburne, a brave but hot-headed leader of the Levellers, "but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record. He will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib." While the army was preparing for the Irish War, the movement of the Levellers developed into open rebellion. Cromwell urged the Council to adopt strong measures. "*You must break these people in pieces,*" said Cromwell to the Council of State; "*if you do not break them, they will break you.*" He was at once despatched to put down the rising. After a forced march of fifty miles, he came upon the mutinous regiments in the dead of night at Burford, in Oxfordshire, and completely overpowered them. Three of the leaders were shot, and the rest were pardoned and returned to their duty. By Cromwell's prompt action the rebellion was quickly suppressed.

(2) **Opposition to the Commonwealth in Ireland.** Meanwhile affairs in Ireland wore a very threatening aspect. Ever since the rebellion of 1641 Ireland had been the scene of anarchy and bloodshed. The Anglo-Irish Royalists under the **Marquis of Ormonde** now joined the Roman Catholic Irish, and refused to acknowledge the Commonwealth. Cromwell was sent by the Council of State to suppress the revolt, and having landed in Dublin, the only large town then in the hands of the Parliament, both he and his men were eager to avenge the terrible massacre of eight years before. "We are come," he said on landing, "to ask an account of the innocent blood, that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring to an account all, who by appearing in arms, shall justify the same." Meanwhile, Ormonde had suffered a severe defeat at **Rathmines**, but he was determined to prolong the war by strengthening all the large towns. At **Drogheda** he stationed about 3,000 of his best men under Sir Arthur Aston. Cromwell promptly stormed the place and cruelly put to death almost all the garrison. Those who escaped, fled to St. Peter's Church, "whereupon," he writes, in his terrible despatch to Parliament, "I ordered the steeple to be burned; in the church itself nearly 1,000 were put to the

sword; I believe all the friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two." A few were captured and shipped for Barbadoes to work as slaves in the sugar plantations in that island. Cromwell seems to have felt that some excuse was needed for these atrocities. "*I am persuaded,*" the despatch ends, "*that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future.*" Sending a detachment to conquer Ulster, Cromwell turned south and besieged **Wexford**. As the garrison refused to surrender, it shared the same fate as that of Drogheda. The effect of these terrible massacres was instantaneous. Town after town surrendered, and before the spring of 1650, Cromwell had subdued half the island. But the threatening attitude of Scotland demanded his presence, and so he returned to England, leaving **Ireton**, his son-in-law, and **Ludlow** to complete the conquest.

NOTE.—In 1652 the war in Ireland came to an end. The success, which had attended Cromwell and Ireton, restored English authority, and the estates of most of the Celtic landowners were confiscated, and handed over to Puritan generals.

(3) **Opposition to the Commonwealth in Scotland.** The execution of Charles I. had been universally denounced in Scotland. The Presbyterian government with **Argyll** at its head, immediately proclaimed the young Prince of Wales as Charles II., and invited him to Scotland to ascend the throne of his father. Meanwhile, **Montrose**, who was still in exile, received a commission from Charles and re-appeared in the Highlands, resolved to hazard another Royalist rising. Landing at Caithness with a small band of followers, he advanced through Ross, but none of the highland clans joined his standard. At **Carbisdale** he was utterly routed by the Covenanters and escaped from the field, but was subsequently captured, clad in the disguise of a peasant, and taken to Edinburgh. An Act was passed by the Scottish Parliament attainting him as a traitor, and he was hanged in the Grassmarket with every circumstance of revolting barbarity, which his enemy Argyll could inflict upon him. With his death all hopes of a successful Royalist rising in Scotland vanished. Charles at once opened negotiations



with the Scottish government. He agreed to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, and pledged himself to establish the Presbyterian religion in England and Ireland as well as in Scotland. With characteristic selfishness he disclaimed Montrose's efforts in his behalf. In June 1650, he landed in Scotland, and was soon at the head of a Scottish army ready to march into England and restore the Monarchy and the Presbyterian religion. The Rump was filled with dismay. It was evident that the restoration of Charles in Scotland was a step towards his restoration in England, and so Fairfax was summoned to take command of the English army and expel Charles. Fairfax, however, threw up his commission, declaring "*that he had conscientious scruples against making war upon a neighbour nation, especially their brothers in Scotland, to whom they were engaged in a Solemn League and Covenant.*" But Cromwell, who had no such scruples, readily accepted the commission, and in July 1650 crossed the Border with an army of 16,000 men. The command of the Scottish army was entrusted to **David Leslie**, who took up a strong position outside Edinburgh. For a whole month Cromwell tried to bring Leslie into action but to no purpose, and at last he was compelled to fall back on **Dunbar** to obtain supplies and reinforcements from the fleet. Leslie immediately followed him, and drew up his lines on the heights above the town, and at the same time blockaded the pass, through which the road ran into England. By this movement Cromwell was so completely hemmed in that escape seemed well-nigh impossible. "*The enemy,*" he wrote, "*hath blocked up our way; we cannot get out without a miracle.*" His soldiers were sick and starving, and as long as the Scots held their strong position, he dare not attack them. His choice lay between a surrender, the re-embarkation of his troops, and a hazardous attempt to cut his way through the Scottish lines. Impatient of the delay, and urged on by the zealous Presbyterian ministers, the Scots suddenly began to leave their entrenchments, and descend into the level ground. "*Now,*" cried Cromwell, "*the Lord hath delivered them into my hand.*" He seized the opportunity, and in the early dawn of September 3rd, led a flank attack on the right wing of the Scottish army, exclaiming, "*Let God arise, and his enemies be scattered.*"

The Scots were driven back in hopeless confusion upon their main body, while the charge of the English upon their front completed their destruction. In less than an hour the victory was in the hands of the English. Ten thousand men of the Scottish army were taken prisoners, together with all its baggage and artillery, and 3,000 killed. Edinburgh opened its gates to the conquerors, and before the close of the year (1650) the whole of Scotland south of the Forth submitted to Cromwell.

After the defeat of the Presbyterian army at Dunbar, Charles strengthened his forces with recruits from the ranks of the Royalists, and was crowned at **Scone**. He then entrenched himself in an almost impregnable position at Stirling. To cut off his communication with the north, Cromwell overran Fife and secured Perth, but by so doing left the road into England undefended. Charles, taking advantage of this movement, crossed the Border and invaded England, in the hope that his presence would stir up a Royalist and Presbyterian insurrection in England. But he was disappointed. Few would join the standard of a king, who was marching at the head of an invading Scottish army.

Meanwhile, Cromwell was following close upon his rear, and overtook him at **Worcester**. Here Charles, with only 13,000 men, resolved to make a stand, and on September 3rd, the anniversary of Dunbar, the famous battle of Worcester was fought. Cromwell's forces numbered more than 30,000 men, and throwing half his men across the Severn, he attacked the town on two sides, and after a "*stiff contest for four or five hours*," routed the enemy. Very few of the Scots escaped; they were either taken prisoners or slain, and the streets of the city were literally strewn with dead. "*The dimensions of this mercy*," wrote Cromwell, "*are above my thoughts. It is for ought I know a crowning mercy.*" The battle of Worcester put an end to the War of the Great Rebellion.

NOTE 1.—Leslie was taken prisoner but Charles escaped in disguise. Although a reward of £100,000 was offered for his person, and the penalty of treason denounced against all who afforded him shelter, he eluded his enemies, and after many romantic adventures, and hair-breadth escapes reached

Brighton, and from thence crossed safely in a collier vessel to France about six weeks after the battle.

NOTE 2.—The subjugation of Scotland was completed by **Monk** and the country kept in good order. His government was to a certain extent arbitrary, but the eight years, which followed, may be considered as a time of great prosperity.

(4) **Opposition to the Commonwealth in Holland and the Dutch War, 1652-53.** The Courts of the European Powers were not kindly disposed towards the New Commonwealth. In some cases its envoys were ignominiously driven away, in others maltreated. At the Hague, **Dr. Dorislaus**, the English ambassador, was actually murdered by some followers of Montrose, and the government of Holland made little or no effort to arrest the murderers or give satisfaction for the crime. In fact the relations between the Commonwealth and Holland had in 1652 become so strained, that they resulted in a declaration of war.

NOTE.—There were however other causes which brought about this rupture between the two Commonwealths.

(a) All along the Dutch had sympathized with the English Royalists, because their Stadholder, William II., Prince of Orange, had married Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., and Charles, Prince of Wales, had found a place of refuge in the Court of his brother-in-law.

(b) For some time commercial rivalry had existed between the two nations. At **Amboyna**, one of the Moluccas Islands, a number of English traders and seamen, who were regarded as intruders, had been murdered by the Dutch.

(c) Moreover it was a disputed point whether Dutch ships meeting English ships in the Channel ought to acknowledge the supremacy of England in the narrow seas by lowering their flags.

(d) Lastly, the Dutch had at this time the best commercial marine in Europe, and did an immense carrying trade, upon which the greater part of their prosperity depended. But in 1651 the English Government passed the **Navigation Act**, forbidding the importation of goods into England except by English vessels, or in the vessels of the country, where the goods were produced. This act did great injury to the Dutch commerce. It took away the greater part of their carrying trade, and transferred it to English vessels.

**Events in the War.** In the eventful struggle, which followed, both nations put forth their utmost strength and fought with dogged persistency. The English navy was under the command of Blake, and owing to the untiring efforts of Sir **H. Vane**, was in an excellent condition. While negotiations

between the two governments were still pending, Blake encountered the Dutch fleet **off Dover** and summoned the Dutch Admiral, **Van Tromp**, to lower his flag. The Dutch Admiral refused, and a battle ensued, in which the Dutch were defeated. This led to a declaration of war. In November 1652, Van Tromp won a decisive victory over Blake **off the Naze**, and elated with success, sailed down the Channel with a broom at his mast head, *implying that he had swept the English off the seas*. But the disaster only served to rouse the courage of the English nation. A new fleet of eighty sail was fitted out under **Blake** supported by Monk and Deane, and in February of the next year 1653, the hostile fleets again encountered each other. For three days Blake maintained a furious running fight with the enemy between **Portland Bill** and the **Calais Sands**, until the Dutch were compelled to seek refuge in the waters of the Scheldt. But the Dutch were by no means disheartened. Two months later, Van Tromp again put to sea with 100 sail. He was again defeated by Blake **off the North Foreland** and escaped to the **Texel**, where he was blockaded by Monk. Here a most decisive battle took place. His attempt to break through the English line led to so fierce an engagement, that for some time the issue of the fight hung in the balance, until the death of the brave Van Tromp, who was killed by a musket-ball while animating his men, turned the scales in favour of the English. This battle completely shattered the naval power of Holland, and compelled the Dutch to sue for peace, the terms of which were: (1) That the Dutch should give no countenance to English Royalists, and banish the Stuarts from Holland; (2) That they should pay the usual honour to the English flag in the narrow seas; (3) That they should agree to the Navigation Act, and make compensation for damage done to English merchants.

NOTE.—The war with Holland is one of which we may be justly proud, for the Dutch were at the time the strongest naval power in Europe. Moreover, it raised the moral tone of our navy, which successive generations have striven to maintain.

3. **Expulsion of the Rump, 1653.** Now that the enemies of the Commonwealth were subdued, the politicians of the army, led by Cromwell, began to turn their attention to the affairs

of State. The "Rump" had become very unpopular. No reforms had been carried out, justice was disregarded, the members were self-seeking and open to bribery, and secured for their friends and relatives all the most lucrative public offices. In August, 1653, a number of influential officers petitioned Cromwell, to insist upon the Commons dissolving themselves. But it soon became evident that that body did not intend to resign their power without a struggle. Sir H. Vane had already brought in a "Reform Bill" enacting: (1) That the new House of Commons should consist of 400 members; (2) That all existing members should keep their seats without election; (3) And that they should have the power of rejecting any newly-elected member. This Bill was denounced by the army as a mere device *for perpetuating the power of the "Rump."* Cromwell suggested that a conference should be held between some of the leading officers of the army and the more prominent members of the House, for the purpose of deliberating on the question of dissolution, and he was given to understand by one of the leading members of the House, that the Bill should not be proceeded with, until the conference had taken place. Next day, however, he learned to his profound astonishment, that the House was actually proceeding to pass the Bill. So great indeed had been the haste, with which it had been hurried through its various stages, that it had not even been properly engrossed on parchment, but merely written on paper. The dishonesty of the whole proceeding roused the Protector's anger. He was now firmly resolved to stamp out the "Rump" altogether. Dressed as a civilian, and accompanied by a band of trusty musketeers, he went down to the House, and leaving the soldiers outside, went in and took his seat as a private member. Just as the last vote on the Bill was about to be taken, he rose to speak. "Parliament," he said, "had done well in its pains and cares for the public good, but it had been dishonoured with injustice, delays and self-seeking. The hour is come," he said, "the Lord hath done with you." Some of the members loudly expostulated against the use of such language. "Come, come," he fiercely cried, "we have had enough of this; I will end your prating. It is not fit that you should sit here



any longer. Get you gone, and give place to better men; you are no longer a Parliament." He then stamped with his foot, and in poured the soldiers to clear the House.

As the leading members passed him, he accused them of being persons of dishonest and corrupt lives, a shame and a scandal to the Gospel. Most of them were so terrified by the suddenness of the affair that they left speechless. Sir H. Vane, however, stood fearless to the last and denounced the act as "against all right and all honour." "Ah, Sir Harry Vane," he cried, with bitter indignation, "you might have prevented this, but you are a juggler, you have no common honesty; the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane. What shall we do with this bauble?" he cried, as he lifted up the mace, "Take it away." But some of the members still lingered in the House, and as if to excuse his conduct, "It is you," he said, "that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." Finally he ordered the House to be cleared, and having locked the door put the key in his pocket, and walked away to his lodgings in Whitehall. Next morning some Royalist wag affixed a notice on the door, "*This house to let now unfurnished.*"

NOTE.—Shortly after, Cromwell dissolved the Council of State. Bradshaw protested against such a proceeding. "We have heard," he said, "what you have done at the House, and in some hours all England will hear it. But you mistake, Sir, if you think the Parliament dissolved. No person on earth can dissolve the Parliament but itself." This was strictly true, and in 1660 it was again summoned by Monk, to be this time dissolved by its own consent.

## SECTION II.—THE PROTECTORATE.

1. **The Little or Barebone's Parliament, also called the Assembly of Nominees, 1653.** The ancient institutions of King, Lords, and Commons had been overthrown, and the three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, lay at the foot of the Conqueror. The question which now occupied men's minds was, what was to be the form of the new Constitution? Some thought that Cromwell would invite the young king Charles II. to take the throne of his fathers, others that he would with the aid of the army, make himself

king. But, whatever Cromwell's plans were, he had no intention of dispensing with an "elected assembly" of some kind or other, and yet he hesitated to summon a "free" Parliament, fearing lest a majority of Royalists should be returned and the old order of things restored. He therefore ordered the Independent ministers throughout the three kingdoms to send in the names of men "*who were faithful, fearing God and hating covetousness,*" and well qualified, from a religious point of view, to undertake Parliamentary duties. From these names he selected 140 members and invited them to meet him at Whitehall. Most of them were men of respectable character, and independent means; many of them men of eminent ability. Some were Fifth Monarchy Men, who believed that the time was come for the rule of the "Saints," and that they themselves were the very saints, who were called upon to rule. Others were Anabaptists and Independents. But they were perhaps the most unpractical set of politicians, who ever undertook the duties of a government. Instead of attempting to reform existing constitutions, they set vigorously to work to destroy them, and tried to crowd into the short space of a few months the work of years. (1) They abolished the Court of Chancery without providing another tribunal to take its place; (2) They suppressed the payment of tithes as being oppressive, and substituted the free contributions of congregations for the support of the clergy; (3) They destroyed private patronage, because some of the patrons were said to have presented livings to unsuitable persons, and they then placed the appointment of ministers in the hands of parishioners; (4) They tried to simplify the administration of law by compiling a single code of laws, but the committee appointed to carry out this work did not contain a single lawyer; (5) Lastly, it is said they even contemplated the substitution of parts of the Mosaic Law for the ancient laws of England.

These extraordinary schemes of legislation exposed the assembly to the ridicule and contempt of all parties. The gentry, lawyers, and the clergy, all in fact, who had anything to lose, began to regard the sweeping measures of these so-called reformers with fear and apprehension, and in a short time the Barebone's Parliament became quite as

unpopular as the "Rump" had been. Cromwell, too, who with all his faults, had a great regard for the old historical institutions, disapproved of their destructive measures. "*Nothing*," he said, "*was in their hearts but overturn, overturn.*" Accordingly, one morning at a very early hour, before their opponents knew what they were doing, the "opposition members" who were in the minority, with Colonel Sydenham at their head, met in the House, and passed a Bill by which they resigned their power into the hands of the Protector.

NOTE.—This assembly was called in derision the Barebone's Parliament, from a Praise-God Barebone, a leather seller, who sat in it as Junior Member for London. It should, however, be remembered that some of the reforms it carried out were much in advance of the time. It abolished imprisonment for debt, established county courts for the recovery of small sums, authorized judges to be paid by salaries instead of fees, abolished unnecessary offices, reduced the salaries of officials, and provided for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages.

2. **The Instrument of Government, 1653.** The resignation of the Barebone's Parliament left Cromwell again sole master of England. Three days after, a new Constitution, called the "Instrument of Government," was drawn up by Cromwell's chief supporters, and accepted by him. Its chief provisions were: (1) That the supreme authority should be vested in the Lord Protector, and a Parliament consisting of a single House; (2) That the Parliament should consist of 400 members, and that all persons possessing property of the value of £200 should be eligible as electors, except Papists and those who had fought against the Parliament. Certain "rotten" boroughs were to be disfranchised, and their members to be distributed among the rising towns, such as Leeds, Liverpool, and Halifax; (3) That the executive power should be vested in the Protector, subject to the restraint of a Council of State of fifteen members; (4) That the Parliament should have the sole power of making laws, the Protector having no veto upon them, but that it should not have the power of making any law contrary to the Instrument itself; (5) That the Parliament should be summoned every three years, and not be dissolved until it had sat three months; (6) That the office of Protector should be for life.

NOTE 1.—In spite of the limitations placed upon the Lord Protector's power by the Instrument, Cromwell was to all intents and purposes "king." He was solemnly inaugurated at Westminster Hall, he had the power of summoning and dissolving Parliaments, deciding questions of peace and war by the advice of the Council of State, and of levying taxes on his own authority. Moreover, his assent was necessary to all Bills before they became law. *The Instrument was the first of the many written or "paper constitutions" of modern times.*

NOTE 2.—Cromwell's Government under the Instrument. The eight months which preceded the meeting of the New Parliament Cromwell ruled supreme. His great aims were to settle religious matters, and reform the law. The first of these objects he carried out upon a very liberal basis. "Such as profess faith in God," ran the Instrument, "shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, provided this liberty be not extended to papacy and prelacy." Tithes were to be retained and a Committee of thirty-five Triers established, whose business it was to enquire whether the persons nominated by their patrons to benefices were of good life, and held the essential doctrines of Christianity. No objection was to be made to Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents, so long as they had "*the root of the matter in them.*" Even Episcopalians were to be admitted if they bound themselves by a promise to abstain from using the Book of Common Prayer.

3. **The First Protectorate Parliament, 1654.** The First Protectorate Parliament met on September 3rd, 1654. In his opening speech, Cromwell told the members that their first duties were to bring about the settlement of the religious question, to reform the law, to complete the plantation and settlement of Ireland, and make alliances with foreign nations. But the members felt no more inclined to carry out the Protector's wishes than the members of the old Parliaments had to obey Charles I. The feeling that they were numerically strong, and elected by the people, made them naturally overweening and haughty.

They began at once (1) to call in question the legality of the Instrument, and the advantage of a government by Parliament and a single person; (2) and to pass bills restricting the Protector's power. Cromwell, however, saw that if he allowed these members as representatives of the nation to choose their own form of government, the whole fabric of his power would soon be overthrown. Accordingly, he pointed out to them that they had no

right to question the legality of the Instrument, under which they were elected, and demanded each one to sign a declaration, signifying his acceptance of the government as established "in a single person and a Parliament;" those who refused he maintained had no right to sit in the House. About one hundred refused to sign the declaration and were in consequence expelled the House. But the members, who remained, were not a whit the more disposed to carry out the Protector's wishes than the contumacious members who had been expelled. They began at once to debate the "Instrument," clause by clause, and voted down some part or other of the authority claimed by the Protector. All other business was shelved, even that of voting supplies for the army and navy. Cromwell could endure it no longer. "It looks," said he, "as if the laying grounds for a quarrel has been designed, than to give the people a settlement. Judge yourselves whether the contesting of things, that were provided for by this government, hath been profitable expense of time for the good of this nation." By the "Instrument," the Protector could not dissolve Parliament in less than "five months," but these he interpreted to mean five *lunar* months, each consisting of four weeks, and when these had expired in angry words he declared Parliament dissolved. He had yet to learn that it was impossible to bring together any body of men however carefully selected, who were willing to work on the lines, which he had laid down.

4. **The Major-Generals, 1655.** The disputes between Cromwell and his Parliament encouraged the Royalists and Levellers to renew their attempts against Cromwell's life and overthrow the Protectorate.

(1) Already in 1654 a Royalist conspiracy known as **Vowel's and Gerard's Plot** had been formed to assassinate the Protector on his way to Hampton Court, and call on London to rise in favour of Charles II. Vowel and Gerard were both apprehended and suffered death; several of the other conspirators were imprisoned.

(2) The following year there was a Royalist rising at **Salisbury**, where **Colonel Penruddock** and **Sir Joseph Wagstaff** seized the judges while on circuit, and were with difficulty kept from hanging them. The insurgents then



proclaimed Charles II., and retreated with their followers into Cornwall. They were, however, utterly routed by the Parliamentary forces at South Molton. Penruddock and several of the leaders were beheaded, while many others were found guilty of high treason, and were shipped to the Island of Barbadoes.

(3) The hatred of Cromwell had by this time become pretty general. The Independents and Presbyterians were incensed against him because he had dissolved the late Parliament; his friends had come to regard him as a traitor to republican principles, and even the Army, his main support, had become disaffected. From the pulpit he was denounced "*as a dissembling perjured villain,*" and threatened "*with a worse fate than had befallen the last tryant.*" Charles II. had long since offered a large reward for the head of the "*base mechanic fellow who had usurped his throne,*" and in 1657 **Colonel Sexby**, an old Leveller, made common cause with the Royalists with a view to assassinate the Protector while on his way to Hampton Court. The carrying out of the plot was entrusted to **Miles Sindercomb**, but it failed, and Sindercomb was arrested and died in prison.

NOTE.—Subsequently Sexby distributed broad-cast many thousand copies of a pamphlet, entitled, "**Killing no Murder,**" declaring that the assassination of Cromwell would be a righteous and patriotic deed. The fear of assassination caused by the dissemination of this pamphlet made Cromwell's life almost intolerable, and such was his terror that he went about clad in armour beneath his ordinary clothes.

The frequent recurrence of these plots compelled Cromwell to throw aside all forms of constitutional government, and establish a military despotism.

(a) He divided England into twelve military districts, over which he placed **major-generals**, selected from the army, and empowered to disarm all Papists and Royalists, and arrest all suspected persons. He even imprisoned his old friends, Vane and Bradshaw, because he feared that their influence would undermine his power.

(b) The Episcopalian Clergy who had been zealous in promoting insurrections and organizing opposition to his government, were now subject to the most stringent laws.

They were forbidden to hold the office of private chaplain, to preach, to administer the Sacrament, to use the Book of Common Prayer or teach in a school.

The additional expenses incurred by these precautions were defrayed by a tax levied upon Royalists at the rate of ten per cent., and known by the name of "*Decimation*."

5. **Cromwell's Foreign Policy.** The foreign policy of Cromwell was most successful. Following the lines laid down by Queen Elizabeth, his object was to crush Spain as the great foe of Protestantism, and set England at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe. "*You have on your shoulders,*" he said to the Parliament of 1654, "*the interest of all the Christian people of the world. I wish it may be written on our hearts to be zealous for that interest.*"

(1) **Relations with Holland.** In 1654 Cromwell made peace with the United States of Holland, the Dutch promising to accept the Navigation Act. Alliances were also made with the Protestant States of Denmark and Sweden.

(2) **Relation with France.** At first Cromwell was inclined to be friendly with Spain, because France had intrigued with the Presbyterians and assisted Charles I. At this time, however, France and Spain were at war, and both countries eagerly sought the English Alliance. After much hesitation, Cromwell decided to join France, and in 1657 sent over 6,000 men to assist that country in an attack upon Spanish Flanders. The allies took **Mardyke**, and won the battle of the **Dunes**, whereupon **Dunkirk** surrendered and was handed over to the English (1658).

NOTE.—The strong arm of the Protector's power was felt even beyond the Alps. The Duke of Savoy had sent soldiers to compel the Protestant subjects of the Vaudois valley in the Alps, to renounce their religion. The most frightful barbarities were committed among these peaceful inhabitants; some were murdered, others taken prisoners, while many fled to the mountains, where they perished of cold and hunger. The news of this persecution roused Cromwell's spirit. He gave Mazarin, the French Minister, to understand, that if he wished to cultivate an English alliance, he must use his influence with the Duke and put an end to the persecution. Much, however, as the Duke resented this interference, he deemed it prudent to stop the persecution and grant religious liberty to the Vaudois.

(3) **Relations with Spain.** Cromwell demanded from the king of Spain the right of free trade with the West Indies, greater liberty of worship for English traders and sailors, and exemption from the cruel laws of the Inquisition. But the Spaniards claimed the exclusive right of trade with the whole of America, and so Cromwell's demands were met with an indignant refusal. "*It is,*" said the Spanish Ambassador, "*to ask for my master's two eyes.*"

**Events in the War with Spain.** Open hostilities began two years before war was formally declared. Cromwell saw that as England's strength lay in her naval power, her best policy was to attack the Spanish Colonies. Accordingly in 1654 he fitted out two expeditions, one under **Penn** and **Venables**, bound for the West Indies, the other under the renowned **Blake**, bound for the Mediterranean.

(a) **Expedition under Penn and Venables** was not successful. The English commanders failed in their attack upon St. Domingo, but to avoid the disgrace of a total defeat, they captured **Jamaica** (1655). So little value, however, was attached to the acquisition of this island, that Cromwell, in a spirit of disappointment, threw both commanders into the Tower on their return to England.

(b) **Expeditions under Blake.** Blake first sailed to the Mediterranean to demand reparation from the pirates of **Algiers** and **Tunis** for the damage they had done to English commerce. He appeared before Algiers and compelled the terrified Dey to submit to his terms and restrain his subjects from further violence upon the English. But the Dey of Tunis defied the English Admiral, whereupon he sailed into Tunis harbour, dismantled their forts, and burned every one of the Dey's cruisers which lay there.

But the last and most brilliant of all Blake's victories was the destruction of the Spanish West Indian Fleet, as it lay at **Santa Cruz** in Teneriffe. In 1657 he was ordered to cruise along the coast of Spain, and capture the Plate Fleet on its way home with the yearly produce of the American silver mines. After several months of weary waiting, Captain Stayner, with a part of Blake's fleet, furiously attacked nine Spanish galleons, and captured gold and silver

to the value, it is said, of £600,000. Subsequently Blake heard that the fleet was anchored in the harbour of Santa Cruz, the entrance to which was protected by a strong castle and forts. With a favourable wind, he boldly dashed into the midst of the enemy, and in a few hours captured the whole of the galleons, but finding it impossible to bring them out into the open sea from want of men, he burnt them altogether with their valuable treasure. It was indeed Blake's "*crowning victory*," and earned for him the praise and admiration of all parties. Clarendon says that it was an example of what "*the strong resolution of a bold and courageous man might do*." Worn out by the fatigues and hardships of a naval commander's life, Blake died within sight of his native shores. The news of his death damped the joy of his great victory.

NOTE.—Blake was our first great naval hero. He left behind him a reputation resplendent for bravery, for skill and patriotic devotion. Though he lived in the stormy times of civil war, he cared little or nothing for the great political changes, which convulsed the nation. "*It is not for us*," he used to say, "*to mind State affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us*."

6. **The Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656.** Cromwell had levied taxes on his own authority to defray the expenses of the war with Spain, but there was still a deficit of £800,000, and he felt that he could not lay a fresh burden of taxation upon the people without the assent of Parliament. He was, moreover, desirous of securing the sanction of Parliament for the Constitution as it existed under the Protectorate. Royalist plots too were rife, and an invasion in favour of Charles II. was imminent. Under these circumstances he deemed it necessary to call his Second Parliament. He took care, however, to exclude about a hundred members (about one-fourth of the whole assembly), men who were likely to offer him any opposition. To conciliate public opinion he abolished major-generals, and gave the Commons complete control over the taxation. For some months business went on smoothly enough, when the discovery of a plot to murder the Protector induced the Parliament to draw up an "*improved constitution*," known as the **Humble Petition and Advice**, and present it to Cromwell. The chief clauses were : (1) That the executive government should

be vested in a Protector and a Council of State, and the members of that Council should be directly nominated or removed by Parliament; (2) That Cromwell should take upon himself the title of "king," with the power of nominating his successor; (3) That Parliament should consist of two Houses, and meet at least once every three years; (4) That the Lower House should be called the "House of Commons," and the Upper House the "Other House;" (5) That liberty of conscience in religious matters should be allowed to all, except Papists, Prelatists and blasphemers.

The Humble Petition and Advice aimed at restoring the old political constitution as far as was possible. An Upper House was to be created to serve as a check upon the democratic tendencies of the Lower House, and the title and dignity of king were to be bestowed upon the Protector to strengthen his position, and to provide more adequate means for his personal safety. But the soldiers were horrified at the prospect of Cromwell becoming a "king." They felt that their work was undone, and their blood shed in vain, if they "*had pulled down King Charles merely to set up King Oliver.*" In the face of such determined opposition on the part of his "devoted army," Cromwell deemed it prudent to decline the title of "king." "*I cannot undertake this Government,*" he said to his friends, "*with that title of king, and this is my answer to this great and weighty business.*" Accordingly, the name of "king" was expunged from the Petition, and the words, "Lord Protector" substituted in its place. Cromwell then accepted the Humble Petition and Advice in its amended form, and was installed with a "mantle of rich purple, a sceptre and sword of justice," and all the solemnity which attended the coronation of a king.

7. **Dissolution of the Second Protectorate Parliament.** In January, 1658, the Parliament met for a second session in its re-organised form, including the 100 members, who had been excluded in the last session, and a new House of Lords nominated by the Protector. The difficulty of creating a new House of Lords was at once manifest. Only a few of the old peers were summoned, and most of these turned disdainfully away. The Protector was, therefore, compelled to fill his House with men, who during the wars



had made themselves conspicuous—"lucky draymen and shoemakers"—and on these members he bestowed the title of "Lords." It was the least happy of all his expedients, and the one most displeasing to all parties.

No sooner had the session opened, than the Commons began to attack the "Upper House." They not only refused to transact any business with them, but absolutely ignored their existence. Their contumacious conduct threw the Protector "into a rage and passion like unto madness." All his attempts at constitutional government had failed, and, it is not to be wondered at that he was weary of the task. "God knows," he said with some bitterness, "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, and to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken such a government as this." He summoned the two Houses into his presence, and in a speech "mingled with sadness and irritation," dissolved Parliament. "The Lord," he exclaimed at parting, "be judge between you and me." But no other course was open to him. Had he not done so, anarchy and bloodshed must have followed. "Believe me," writes a contemporary, "that dissolution was of such necessity, that if their session had continued but a few days longer, all had been blood, both in the city, and in the country, on Charles Stuart's account." *For the remainder of his life Cromwell ruled without a Parliament.*

8. **Cromwell's Death and Character.** Cromwell was only fifty-nine when he died, but he was prematurely old. The strain of sixteen years' conflict in the field and in the council, the failure of his plans for establishing a permanent government, the plots against his life, and the constant fear of assassination, together with the knowledge that he was hated by his enemies and deserted by many of his old friends, preyed upon his mind and weakened his bodily strength. The death of his eldest and best-beloved daughter, Mrs. Claypole, whom he attended with unremitting care during her last illness, still further undermined his already shattered health. In the summer of 1658, he was seized with an attack of ague, and laid upon a bed of sickness, from which he never rose again. Two days before he died, a mighty storm of wind and rain swept over England, long remembered

and connected by superstition and party feeling with his death. "*The devil*," said the evil-minded Royalists, "*was coming for his own*." On the afternoon of September 3rd, the anniversary of his two great victories, Dunbar and Worcester, the brave spirit of the Protector passed away. His last hours were spent in solemn prayer and self-examination, "using divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace, but among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, annihilating and judging himself." "I would be willing to live," he murmured, "to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done! Yet, God will be with His people." He was buried with more than regal pomp in Westminster Abbey.

Cromwell was over forty years of age when he quitted his quiet country house in Huntingdonshire, and plunged into the very vortex of parliamentary strife. He was uncouth in his manner and careless in his dress; "*his voice was sharp and untunable*," but his eloquence, though rugged, was full of fervour and soul-stirring energy. He had so little affectation, that he told the painter, Lely, "*to paint his picture truly like him*." "His temper," says one of his servants, "was exceeding fiery; but the flame was soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure." Like Charles I., his private life was simple, loving and pure; but he possessed "a strength of soul, a directness of purpose and a sterling honesty," which that unfortunate monarch lacked. But perhaps the noblest trait in his character was his unselfish devotion to his country. He fully believed he was an instrument in God's hands for doing His people good. He was imbued with deep religious feeling, and endeavoured to frame his whole life in accordance with his religious convictions. As a general, his ability shines most in his effective organisation of an army.

Cromwell's position as Protector was unconstitutional from beginning to end, thrust upon him no doubt by force of circumstances, and only to be escaped from by death. Moreover, all his attempts to establish a Constitution on a permanent basis, although actuated by the noblest motives,

were failures. His **Little Parliament** had proved itself a byword and laughing stock to the nation; "his **Second Parliament** elected by the people at his command, had questioned his authority and was dismissed without passing a single Act; his **Third Parliament**, though it recognised him as Protector, and would gladly have him made king, refused to acknowledge his new House of Lords." He was actually contemplating measures for the construction of a **Fourth Parliament**, when the hand of death was upon him. And these failures are not to be wondered at, when we consider that his views represented only a small minority of the nation; that the people of England still clung and obeyed the time-honoured institutions of their ancestors; and that, if they would not accept the political theories of Charles, whose right to the throne was through a long line of kings, it could hardly be expected that they would accept the revolutionary schemes of a plain country gentleman, whose only claim to a throne was that he had been a successful soldier.

Like all men who have overthrown tyrannies, Cromwell himself became a tyrant, but he used his power with moderation. If he "waded through ~~blood~~ <sup>slaughter</sup> to a throne," he saved England from anarchy, struck a blow at the selfishness and tyranny of absolute monarchy, and left behind him a name, which must rank with the first of English statesmen.

His **foreign policy** was eminently successful. Under his firm and wise government England rose high in the estimation of Europe. She became "the most formidable power in the world," was respected and feared by foreign princes, and able to take her proper place among European nations, while her naval victories established her supremacy at sea.

No less successful was Cromwell's **home government**. He established peace and order throughout the country, and encouraged trade and agriculture. He carried out many reforms in law, caused justice to be administered between man and man with an exactness and purity never known in England before, and gave religious liberty to all except Papists and Prelatists. Even the Jews, who had not been allowed to live in England since the reign of

Edward I., were, in spite of the strongest opposition of jealous traders and fanatical theologians, permitted to build a synagogue in London.

9. **Richard Cromwell as Protector.** The work of Cromwell was destined not to last. In six months, not a trace of it remained, and in eighteen months, England was again ruled by a Constitutional Stuart King. By the Humble Petition and Advice, Cromwell was empowered to name his successor, but it is uncertain whether he ever did so. The Council, however, acting on the belief that his son Richard had been so nominated, proceeded to inaugurate him as Protector.

Richard Cromwell possessed none of his father's characteristic qualities. He was an easy-going country gentleman of idle, careless and indifferent habits, and had no capacity for a military or political career. His lack of a military education made him unpopular with the Army. His opinions and feelings on religious subjects did not meet with the approbation of the "godly" party. At first, however, everything worked well. "*There is not a dog, that wags his tongue,*" boasted Thurloe, "*so great a calm are we in.*" To gain the confidence of the nation, the new Protector proceeded at once to call a Parliament. When the Parliament met, it was found to contain a large majority of members, who were willing to support the Protector, if he would undertake to lessen the power of the Army. Meanwhile, the Army had recognised the fact that the death of their great general Oliver, and the alliance between the Parliament and the new Protector, had already considerably weakened its influence. Accordingly, the officers petitioned that **Fleetwood**, Oliver Cromwell's son-in-law, should be their general, with such powers as would make him entirely independent of both the Protector and Parliament. This petition Parliament indignantly rejected, whereupon a deputation of officers waited upon the Protector, and insisted upon his dissolving Parliament. Shortly after, Richard, who had no desire to play the part of a "military autocrat" like his father, resigned his office and retired into private life, "*not a sixpence the better in riches, for being the son of his father.*" The supreme power passed once more into the hands of the Army.

10. **The Army restores the Rump, 1659.** The triumph of the Army was followed by a revival of the "Rump." The officers, anxious to show their sympathy for the Republican Party, resolved to restore the Rump Parliament, which had been so ignominiously swept away six years before. Forty-two of the old members, with **Lenthall**, the Speaker, at their head, returned to the House in triumph. Flushed with its success, and forgetting that it was a mere creation of the Army, it declared all the Acts of the Protectorate null and void, and called upon the soldiers "*to be faithful and obedient to the Parliament and Commonwealth.*"

The dissensions between the Parliament and the Army encouraged the Royalists and Presbyterians to rise in revolt. In Cheshire, **Sir George Booth**, a Presbyterian of high standing, took the field with a considerable force, but was utterly routed by Lambert at **Winnington Bridge**, near Northwich. When the victorious soldiers returned to London, they made such high demands of the House, that it moved "that Lambert and Fleetwood should be deprived of their commands." Next day, however, Lambert, who was the most vigorous of all the generals, marched down to the House, and drove out the "Rump," just as Cromwell had done six years before. For a second time, the leaders of the Army were left to govern themselves. But the Army itself was no longer united. The leading generals, Lambert, Fleetwood and Desborough were wrangling among themselves, and, each supported by his own faction, aspired to fill the place made vacant by the death of the great Oliver. To preserve some kind of order, it was finally resolved to restore again the miserable remnant of the Long Parliament, the "Rump."

11. **Monk declares for a free Parliament.** The events of the last ten years clearly proved that both Commonwealth and Protectorate had been great political failures. The people had grown sick of Cromwell's military despotism, and longed for the old constitution of King, Lords, and Commons. There was one man, who had made up his mind to carry out the nation's wishes, and that man was George Monk. Monk was a cool, cautious and self-reliant soldier. He had served in the King's forces in Ireland, but having been taken



prisoner by the Parliamentary forces at Nantwich, in 1644, he, with many others, enlisted in the service of the Parliament. Cromwell had so high an opinion of his capacity as a general, that, after the battle of Dunbar he left him in Scotland to keep order. Monk now refused to acknowledge the provisional government which had been appointed by the Army, and on January 1st, 1660, marched into England at the head of 7,000 trustworthy veterans. No one knew exactly what his aims were. "*If," said he, "his shirt knew what was in his head, he would burn his shirt."* Lambert advanced to meet him, but his troops gradually melted away, or made common cause with the invaders, and he himself was taken prisoner. On reaching London Monk declared for a free Parliament. The whole nation was mad with delight. Wherever he appeared, thousands thronged round him, shouting and blessing his name. "I saw," says Pepys, "many people give his soldiers drink and money, and all along the streets cried, 'God bless them.' At night, the common joy was everywhere to be seen. At Strand Bridge, I could at one time tell thirty-one bonfires." Monk then compelled the Rump, which was still sitting, to receive all the surviving members of the Long Parliament who had been expelled by Pride in 1648. The new members far outnumbered the Rump, and being men of moderate views were ready to agree to any reasonable terms which Monk might propose. Under Monk's directions therefore writs were issued for a new Parliament, and the Rump formally dissolved itself.

NOTE.—Thus fell the last wretched remnant of the famous Long Parliament. It perished unregretted and unlamented. The nation had come to regard its rule quite as tyrannical as that of King Charles himself. "Every corner of the realm had become dissatisfied with it." It was distrusted by the army, hated by the Presbyterians and Royalists, and finally destroyed by the very power which had called it into existence. It had overthrown the monarchy, brought the King to the scaffold, and in the place of the old Constitution established a Commonwealth. It could however make some pretensions to a constitutional origin, and that was more than any of Cromwell's "Parliaments" could do, and for a time it had stemmed the tide of oppression which inevitably follows a military despotism. It had moreover brought to a successful issue the wars with Ireland, Scotland and Holland. Twice it was ejected, and twice it was restored, and finally it decreed its own dissolution.

## 12. The Convention Parliament and the Restoration, 1660.

The members of the New Parliament were mostly Presbyterians and the sons of the old cavaliers, and as such friendly to the Royalist cause. Meanwhile, Charles, who had been watching the course of events, knew that the New Parliament would vote for his restoration, and so he issued his views in a proclamation known as the **Declaration of Breda**.

In this document Charles promised:—1. A general pardon for all, except such as should be hereafter exempted by Parliament. 2. Liberty of conscience in matters of religion for all those whose views did not disturb the peace of the realm. 3. A settlement in Parliament of all claims made by new owners to the confiscated estates of Royalists. 4. A full payment of the arrears due to Monk's army. Both Houses eagerly accepted the Declaration, and voted that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons." Charles was then formally invited to come over and assume his hereditary rights. He was proclaimed with such pomp as was never known before. "He came," wrote John Evelyn in his Diary, "with a triumph of 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewn with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the mayor, aldermen, and companies in their liveries, gold chains, and banners; lords clad in cloth of silver, gold and velvet; the windows and balconies well set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester. I stood in the Strand," continued Evelyn, "and blessed God, and all this done without a drop of blood, and by that very army which rebelled against him." "It is my own fault," said the new King laughing, "that I had not come back sooner; for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return." But the soldiers of the Parliamentary army, who were drawn up on Blackheath to welcome the king, scowled upon him as he passed. They were however powerless to act. Disunion had crept in among them, and they had no confidence in their chiefs or in each other. *With the return of Charles the Puritan Revolution was at an end.*

CHARLES II. 1660—1685\* (25 years).

Title: Son of Charles I.

Married: Catherine of Portugal.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—THE WORK OF THE CONVENTION.**

Character of Charles II. An Act of Indemnity and Oblivion is passed. Trial of Lambert and Vane. The Settlement of the Revenue. Venner's Plot. The Church Question.

**SECTION II.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLARENDON.**

Meeting of the Cavalier Parliament. The Corporation Act. The Act of Uniformity. The Conventicle Act. The Great Plague of London. The Five Mile Act. The First Dutch War. The Fire of London. English disasters at sea and the Treaty of Breda. Fall of Clarendon.

**SECTION III.—THE CABAL ADMINISTRATION AND REVERSAL OF FOREIGN POLICY.**

The Members of the Cabal. Ambitious designs of Louis XIV. and the Triple Alliance. The Secret Treaty of Dover. The Second Dutch War. The Stop of the Exchequer. The Declaration of Indulgence. The Test Act and the breaking up of the Cabal Ministry. Peace is concluded with Holland by the Treaty of Westminster. Formation of the Country Party, and origin of "Ministry and Opposition."

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The arbitrary character of Danby's Government. Marriage of the Princess Mary and William of Orange. The Popish Plot. Impeachment of Danby and Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament. Sir William Temple's Scheme of a Privy Council of Thirty. The First Short Parliament meets and fails to pass the Exclusion Bill, but passes the

Habeas Corpus Act. Affairs in Scotland and murder of Archbishop Sharpe. Charles's Second Short Parliament, and continued struggle for the Exclusion Bill. The Petitioners and Abhorrrers. Execution of Lord Stafford. The Oxford Parliament and the Tory re-action. Persecution of the Whigs and the Rye House Plot. Execution of Russell and Sydney. Death of Charles II.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

(a) **Statesmen and Courtiers**:—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; The Duke of Buckingham; Clifford; Anthony Ashley Cooper, created Earl of Shaftesbury; Arlington; Lauderdale; Sir Thomas Osborne, created Earl of Danby.

(b) **Military and Naval Commanders**:—John Graham of Claverhouse; General Monk; Prince Rupert.

(c) **Writers**:—John Milton; John Dryden; Samuel Butler; William Wycherley; Earl of Clarendon; John Bunyan; Richard Baxter; John Locke; Jeremy Taylor; Thomas Fuller; Isaac Walton; Samuel Pepys.

(d) **Other Names**:—Christopher Wren; Henry Purcell; Peter Lely; Titus Oates; Lord Russell; Algernon Sidney.

### LEADING DATES.

Meeting of the Cavalier Parliament	.	.	.	.	.	1661
The Corporation Act	.	.	.	.	.	1662
The Act of Uniformity	.	.	.	.	.	1662
The Conventicle Act	.	.	.	.	.	1664
The Five Mile Act	.	.	.	.	.	1665
The Great Plague of London	.	.	.	.	.	1665
The Fire of London	.	.	.	.	.	1666
The First Dutch War	.	.	.	.	.	1665-1667
Treaty of Breda	.	.	.	.	.	1667
The Triple Alliance	.	.	.	.	.	1668
The Second Dutch War	.	.	.	.	.	1672-1674
The Test Act	.	.	.	.	.	1673
The Popish Plot	.	.	.	.	.	1678
The Exclusion Bill	.	.	.	.	.	1680
The Oxford Parliament	.	.	.	.	.	1681
Executions of Russell and Sydney	.	.	.	.	.	1683

## SECTION I.—THE WORK OF THE CONVENTION.

1. **Character of Charles II.** That Charles II. was a man of great natural parts no one has ever doubted. His lively wit and ready conversation, his unaffected politeness, and easy affable manners made him a pleasant boon companion, but he was thoroughly selfish, heartless and deceitful. He never forgot how bitter the hardships of his exiled life had been, and "had no wish," so he told his brother, "to go on his travels again." But the experience he had gained of the world during his exile does not seem to have had any good effect either upon his character or his morals. He had no sense of the duty he owed his country, and was habitually careless and indolent, and made enjoyment the chief aim of his life. "*The king minds nothing but pleasure,*" writes one of his courtiers, "*and hates the very sight or thought of business.*" His life was vicious and dissolute, and his Court filled with worthless men and depraved women, on whom he lavishly bestowed the money granted him by Parliament. His wife, Catherine of Portugal, had very little influence over him, and played but a small part in the gay and dissipated life of his Court. He had no intention of contending with the Parliament for "supremacy" like his father had done, but he was determined to secure for himself as much power as he could, without endangering "his head or his crown." If, however, he did offer any opposition to Parliament, he had sense enough to know when to give way. By keeping himself in the political background he managed to throw all the blame of his unpopular acts on his ministers, whom he threw over without the least compunction, whenever he thought it advantageous to do so. His religious convictions—if he had any—leaned towards Romanism. Presbyterianism he denounced as being "no religion for a gentleman."

**His Ministers.** Charles had been placed on the throne by a combination of Royalists and Presbyterians, and so, on the advice of Monk, he admitted members of both these bodies to his Council. He gave his chief confidence to **Sir Edward Hyde**, who was made Lord Chancellor, under the title of Lord Clarendon. Hyde had been a steady adherent to the Royalist family during their misfortunes, and now took the position of "Prime Minister." He was a



warm supporter of Episcopacy and the Prayer Book. **Monk**, now Duke of Albemarle, cared little about politics and became captain-general of the army. **James, Duke of York**, the King's brother, became Lord High Admiral, **Anthony Ashley Cooper**, now Baron Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the **Earl of Southampton**, High Treasurer.

2. **An Act of Indemnity and Oblivion is passed, 1660.** The Declaration of Breda laid down the conditions, on which Charles was willing to treat with his subjects with a view to his restoration. The duty of the Convention was to discuss and settle these conditions, and give them legal force by converting them into Acts of Parliament. Their first step was to pass an **Act of Indemnity and Oblivion** for all offences committed during the Civil War and the Commonwealth. Of the regicides, thirteen were executed, including **Hugh Peters**, a fanatical preacher and Oliver Cromwell's chaplain, and **Thomas Harrison**, an Anabaptist general. As the latter was led to execution, some one from the crowd of spectators tauntingly cried out, "*Where is the good old cause now?*" "*Here it is,*" replied Harrison, placing his hand upon his breast, "*I am going to seal it with my blood.*" Of the remaining regicides, twenty-five were imprisoned for life, and nineteen, including **Ludlow**, sought refuge in foreign countries. **Milton** escaped persecution with difficulty. When it was proposed to hang the poet, Charles interposed; "*No,*" said he, "*if he be old, poor and blind, he is miserable enough in all conscience; let him live.*" At the same time the **Earl of Argyll**, the chief of the Scottish Covenanters, was arrested in London, hurried back to Edinburgh and there executed on the frivolous charge of complicity in Charles I.'s death.

**NOTE 1.—Trial of Lambert and Vane.** In 1662, Lambert and Vane, although neither of them was a regicide, were tried for treason. Lambert's cringing submission saved his life, but did not save him from perpetual imprisonment. Vane made a bold defence, pleading protection under the famous De Facto Statute of Henry VII. (see page 9), which declared that to serve the "de facto" king was not treasonable. But his spirited defence only incensed the King against him, and hastened his doom. "*Sir Harry Vane,*" wrote Charles, "*is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can safely put him out of the way.*" Vane

maintained his brave spirit to the very last. "On the scaffold he changed not his colour nor his speech, but died justifying himself and the cause he stood for." He was one of the most noble-minded Englishmen of his time, and when he died, it was said "*that the king lost more by his death, than he would gain for a good while.*"

**NOTE 2.**—The spirit of vengeance was still further glutted by causing the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw to be dug out of their graves in Westminster Abbey, drawn to the gallows at Tyburn, and there hanged and buried. Even the corpse of the great naval hero, Blake, was not allowed to remain in its resting place in the Abbey. It was unceremoniously dragged from the tomb and buried in St. Margaret's Church.

The question of the **settlement of property** was a far more difficult task. During the recent troublesome times, much of the landed property had changed owners, and it was now stipulated that all Crown and Church lands, which had been confiscated under the Commonwealth, should be restored to their original owners, and that all lands belonging to private individuals should also be restored, but not if they had been sold by the Cavalier landlords themselves. So little compensation did the Royalists gain by this Statute, that it was jeeringly called "*An Act of Indemnity for the king's enemies, and of Oblivion for the king's friends.*"

3. **The Settlement of the Revenue Question.** The question of the Revenue was more successfully dealt with. An Act was passed for the **Abolition of Feudal Tenure** and all the disagreeable incidents connected with it, such as Feudal Dues, and Rights of Wardship and Marriage. The obnoxious privilege of Purveyance was also abolished. In their place was substituted an excise on beer and other liquors, thus shifting the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the feudal landlords to those of the people. The whole revenue of the Crown was fixed at £1,200,000. Tonnage and Poundage were voted to the King for life.

The question of the **Defences of the Country** was next considered. The walls and fortresses of all inland towns, except the loyal cities of Oxford, York, and Chester, were demolished; the command of the militia and fortresses placed in the hands of the King, and the whole of the army paid off and disbanded, except two regiments, amounting in all to 5,000 men. By this disbandment of the army, 50,000 men

accustomed to the profession of arms, were thrown upon the world, but such was their habit of discipline, and so great their stability of character, that in a few months they were quietly absorbed into the industrial classes of the community, and settled down as peaceful citizens.

**NOTE.—Venner's Plot.** In the early part of the year 1661, just at the time when the Convention was paying off the army, there was a rising of the fanatical "Fifth Monarchy" men in London, under a cooper named Venner. The insurrection was easily suppressed, but the Presbyterians and Royalists were terribly alarmed, and feared lest the Independents might, from the very desperation of their case, make another attempt to regain their power. It was therefore considered necessary to keep up a force of two regiments, one of horse and one of foot. *This was the beginning of our modern standing army.*

4. **The Church Question.** In dealing with the affairs of the Church, the Convention embarked upon a work beset with the gravest difficulty. Most of the livings in England were at this time held by Presbyterian and Independent ministers, and the Episcopalian clergy were calling loudly for the restoration of the benefices, from which they had been so ruthlessly ejected. The Convention was divided in its opinion as to what course it should take; some advocated a **comprehensive scheme**, which should include both Presbyterians and Episcopalians; others a **restoration of the Church of England** in its old form. Finding that it was impossible to come to any definite arrangement, Charles promised to call a conference of an equal number of Presbyterian and Episcopalian divines, with a view if possible to settle the matter.

The Convention, having done its work, was then dissolved, and writs were issued for a new Parliament.

## SECTION II.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLARENDON.

1. **Meeting of the Cavalier Parliament, 1661.** The new Parliament was very different in character from the Presbyterian Convention. Nine-tenths of its members were Cavaliers, and as such, zealous adherents of the King and ardent supporters of Episcopacy, the Church and the Prayer Book. Their reactionary temper was so violent, that Charles and Clarendon had the greatest difficulty in restraining them.

Their first duty was to confirm the Acts of the Convention, and annul all the Acts of Cromwell's Parliaments. They also passed Bills restoring some of the prerogatives to the Crown:—(a) That there was no legislative power in either or both of the Houses without the sanction of the King; (b) That the sole command of the militia and all the forces by sea and land had ever been by the laws of England the undoubted right of the Crown; (c) That neither House of Parliament could lawfully levy war, offensive or defensive, against the King.

2. **The Corporation Act, 1661.** The next Four Acts were prompted by a very unwise spirit of retaliation against the Presbyterians and Independents. The first was the **Corporation Act**. The object of this Act was *to crush the influence, which the Presbyterians and Independents had in cities and boroughs*. It enacted that all mayors, aldermen, councillors, and other corporation officers should receive the Sacrament in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and take the oath of Non-resistance, declaring it to be unlawful to take up arms against the King.
3. **The Act of Uniformity, 1662.** After the dissolution of the Convention, Charles, according to his promise, called the **Savoy Conference**, at which an equal number of Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines was present. The object of the Conference was *to settle, if possible, the differences between the two religious bodies, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians*. But the parties were too much at variance to come to terms. Neither would give way, and after much bitter discussion the Conference broke up without effecting anything. In 1662, the "Cavalier Parliament" undertook the settlement of the Church question by passing the "Act of Uniformity," *compelling the Puritan clergy either to conform to, or leave the English Church*. It enacted:—(1) That every holder of a benefice must have been ordained by a bishop; (2) That he must give his unfeigned assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer; (3) That he must renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and make a declaration against the lawfulness of taking up arms against the Sovereign under any pretext whatever. Those, who



refused to conform, had to vacate their livings by St Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1662.

NOTE.—The greater part of the clergy conformed, but about 2,000 (one-fifth of the whole clergy) for conscience sake resigned their preferments. They included Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, and were for the most part men of good repute, and eminent for their piety and learning. They and their followers were the "founders" of the various "nonconformist" bodies of modern England. Richard Baxter has left us a heart-rending account of the privations of the expelled clergy. He says, "many hundreds with their wives and children had neither house nor bread. Some lived on little more than brown bread and water, many had but £8 or £10 a year to maintain a family." Poverty, however, was not the least of their sufferings. They were jeered at by the players, and hooted through the streets by the mob.

4. **The Conventicle Act is passed, 1664.** The clergy, who had been expelled from their livings under the Act of Uniformity, now began to form congregations of their own. This gave the Cavalier Parliament a further opportunity for displaying their intolerant spirit. In 1664, the "Conventicle Act" was passed, by which it was enacted that all adult persons attending a religious meeting, held not in accordance with the practices of the Church of England, where five persons besides the family should be assembled, should be liable for the first offence, to pay a fine of £5 or imprisonment for three months; for the second £10 fine or six months; for the third £100 fine or transportation for seven years. The sentence of transportation was a terrible one. "*It melted men's hearts with compassion,*" says Pepys, "*to see them go like lambs without any resistance.*" The victims had to work as slaves in the plantations of some of the West India Colonies.

NOTE.—The great Plague of London, 1665. In the summer of 1665, the plague, which had already appeared in continental Europe, broke out with terrible virulence in the close and unhealthy streets of London. The houses were badly constructed and overcrowded, the drainage defective, and the streets narrow and foul with the accumulated filth of years. At the first alarm, the Court, nobility, and better class of citizens, fled from the city; even the clergy deserted their pulpits, and the physicians their patients. The people followed in great numbers, and by so doing, spread the infection, until the authorities stopped the tide of emigration. London was so deserted that it looked like "a city of the dead;" all business was at a standstill, and the



grass grew high in the streets. On the door of every house infected with the plague a red cross was painted, with the words, "*Lord, have mercy upon us!*" The dead were too numerous to be buried in the usual way. At night the dead-cart went its rounds with muffled bell and glaring torch, and the awful summons, "Bring out your dead!" rang through the silent and deserted streets. The corpses, without coffins and without funeral rites, were thrown promiscuously into common pits in the neighbouring churchyards. In September, when the plague was at its height, no less than 1,000 died every day; but as the winter came on its violence abated. It is estimated that upwards of 100,000 inhabitants were carried off by its ravages.

5. **The Five Mile Act, 1665.** During the plague, the Episcopalian clergy had deserted their churches for fear of infection, and the Nonconformists, who were a far more earnest body of men, undertook the duties of the absent ministers. Their noble conduct roused the anger of the jealous Episcopalians. It was said that the Nonconformist clergy had taken a mean advantage of their opportunity, and occupied the vacant pulpits for the purpose of disseminating sedition and treason. The result was that the Parliament held at Oxford, passed the **Five Mile Act**. It forbade any clergyman to teach in schools, or come within "five miles" of any corporate town, or Parliamentary borough, unless he subscribed to the Act of Uniformity, took the oath of non-resistance, and pledged himself that he would not at any time endeavour to alter the government in Church or State. By this Act the whole of the Nonconformist clergy were cruelly deprived of the means of earning a living. Hundreds were thrown into prison, and among them was the famous **John Bunyan**, who for twelve years lingered a prisoner in Bedford gaol.
6. **First Dutch War, 1665-67.** In 1665 England drifted into a very unwise war with the Dutch. The Causes were:—(1) The commercial jealousy between the two nations; (2) The English had expelled the Dutch from their settlements on the African coasts; (3) Charles had ordered all Dutch merchant vessels to be seized, wherever they were to be met with.

**Events in the War.** England threw the whole of her energies and resources into the struggle, but the result

reflected little credit on her efforts as a maritime power. The navy was disorganized, the sailors badly paid, and the Admirals, James Duke of York, General Monk, and Prince Rupert, being military men, were totally unskilled in handling a navy. The hostile fleets first encountered each other off **Lowestoft**, where the Duke of York and Prince Rupert gained a great victory over the Dutch. But the victory was rendered fruitless owing to a confusion about the orders for pursuit, and it was deemed desirable to remove the Duke of York from his command on the pretence that his life was too valuable to be risked. The following year (1666), Monk and Prince Rupert again put to sea with a large fleet, and met the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, off the **North Foreland**, where the English were so severely handled, that Monk was compelled to seek shelter in the Thames. The Dutch, too, were so crippled, that they were also obliged to put back to Holland to refit. In the autumn of the same year, the English were again at sea. They avenged the disgrace they had experienced off the North Foreland by burning 160 Dutch merchantmen in the Dutch harbours, with a loss to the enemy, it is said, of £1,000,000, and wantonly destroyed the unfortified town of Brandaris on the Texel. De Witt, who witnessed this disgraceful act, swore "*that he would not sheath his sword till he had been avenged.*" Next year his wish for vengeance was fully realized.

NOTE.—The Fire of London, 1666. In the midst of these disasters a terrible fire broke out in London, which lasted three days, and destroyed two-thirds of the city. Upwards of 13,000 dwelling-houses were burnt, and 100 public buildings, among which were the noble Gothic Cathedral of St. Paul's, eighty-eight Churches, the Guildhall and many of the halls of the old rich City Companies. "I saw," wrote Evelyn, "the whole south of the City burning, from Cheapside to the Thames. The people hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above forty miles round. I now saw 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and crackling and thunder of the flames, the shrieking of women, the hurrying of people, the fall of towers and churches were like a hideous storm; the stones of St. Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream. The eastern wind drove the flames forward till it pleased God to abate it." At last the raging fire was only stopped by blowing up houses with

gunpowder. In some respects, the fire was nothing but a blessing in disguise. It swept away for ever the foul haunts of the plague, the old houses with their overhanging stories were replaced by new ones, built in a more modern fashion, and the streets were reconstructed wider, and communication rendered more efficient and easy. Moreover, it gave the great and renowned architect, Sir Christopher Wren, an opportunity to display his wonderful talents, and the new St. Paul's and other Churches are the work of his genius.

The fire originated by mere accident in a bake-house, but so great was the public prejudice against the Roman Catholics at the time, that the charge of having started the fire was falsely imputed to them, and till recently the Monument erected in remembrance of the fire bore an inscription to that effect.

7. **English Disasters at Sea, and the Treaty of Breda, 1667.** In 1667 the nation suffered a terrible disgrace at the hands of the Dutch. Charles had squandered all the liberal grants made by Parliament to prosecute the Dutch War, and being in want of money to equip another fleet, ordered the largest ships to lay up in the harbour of Chatham. This foolish act left the coast unprotected, and the Dutch under De Ruyter sailed boldly up the Thames, entered the Medway as far as Chatham, and burnt the dockyard and the ships stationed there. *They even held London in a state of blockade for several weeks.* But such a disgrace had no effect upon the pleasure-seeking, selfish King. While the roar of the Dutch guns was heard in our own waters, and "crowds of poor seamen were starving in the streets of London for lack of money," Charles was actually at a drunken revel in the house of one of his mistresses, "all mad with hunting a poor moth." But the people were distressed, and "sighed for the glorious days of Blake and Oliver, and the brave things they did." The nation made no attempt to avenge this national insult. On the contrary, the negotiations for peace, which had already been set on foot, ended in the **Treaty of Breda** (1667). It stipulated:—(1) that England should have New Amsterdam in North America (afterwards called New York); (2) that the Navigation Act should be modified in favour of the Dutch.
8. **Fall of Clarendon, 1667.** The Treaty of Breda brought with it the Fall of Clarendon. The disastrous mismanagement of

the war, the lavish expenditure of public money by the King, the distress caused by the Plague and Fire, had roused the national spirit, and when the storm of public indignation burst, it fell on Clarendon. The King, who like his father was utterly void of gratitude, made no attempt to save his faithful minister. In fact he had his own reasons for wishing to get rid of him. Clarendon had never ceased to rebuke Charles for his licentious living, and now Charles joined the nation in its attack on the man, who had done more than anyone to make his throne secure. The Commons, too, disliked Clarendon, because he had opposed the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission to enquire into the King's expenditure; while the Nonconformists denounced him as being the author of all the harsh measures passed against them, during the last five years. Accordingly, he was dismissed from office, and impeached of high treason at the bar of the House of Lords. But the charges were so ridiculously false and frivolous, that the Lords refused to commit him to prison, whereupon Charles strongly urged him to leave the country. After some hesitation, Clarendon yielded to the King's wishes and fled to France, where he spent the remainder of his life in writing his famous "*History of the Rebellion.*" Clarendon's flight was considered as a proof of his guilt, and so he was banished by Act of Parliament.

### SECTION III.—THE CABAL ADMINISTRATION AND REVERSAL OF FOREIGN POLICY.

1. **The Cabal Administration, 1667-73.** When Clarendon fell, Charles virtually became his own minister. There were, however, five members of the Privy Council, **Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale**, whom he consulted from time to time, and who were collectively known as the **Cabal**. **Clifford** was a brave and honest Catholic, but disliked for his "*folly, ambition, desire of popularity and rudeness of tongue.*" **Arlington** was also a Catholic, but selfish and pompous, and "*could never shake off a little air of formality, which an embassy to Spain had infected him with.*" **Buckingham**, the son of the favourite of Charles I.,

was utterly void of sincerity or principle, as the poet Dryden aptly describes him, "*stiff in opinion, always in the wrong, was everything by starts, but nothing long.*" **Ashley**, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, was by far the most able of the five. He had deserted Charles I., and supported Cromwell, but being disgusted with the whims and caprices of the "Rump" and the Army, assisted Monk in bringing about the Restoration. He was an ardent supporter of Parliamentary government and toleration, and the best speaker of his time, but he was factious, greedy, and unscrupulous. **Lauderdale** was an ambitious Scottish peer, who was busily engaged in establishing the King's power in Scotland. They were an unscrupulous, corrupt, and self-seeking set of men, differing in many points of policy, *but agreed in favouring toleration and reversing Clarendon's line of foreign policy.*

NOTE.—By a singular coincidence, the initial letters of the names of these ministers spelt the word "*cabal*," which originally meant nothing more than "*a club*." They were, however, so odious to the nation, that ever since an evil meaning has been attached to the word.

2. **Ambitious designs of Louis XIV. and the Triple Alliance, 1668.** Louis XIV. was one of the most able and at the same time most ambitious kings, that ever sat on the French throne. The one great aim of his life was to conquer the Spanish Netherlands—the modern Belgium—and so make the Rhine the natural boundary of the North of France. Men saw that if he carried out his great scheme successfully, it would greatly endanger the general peace of Europe. Accordingly, Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at the Hague, a man of high culture and great diplomatic skill, arranged the famous "Triple Alliance" between England, Holland and Sweden, by which these three countries bound themselves to check the aggressive policy of France. Louis soon found that he could not withstand so formidable an alliance, and so he concluded the **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle** with Spain, by which it was agreed that he should hold some very important frontier towns, including Lille, Tournay and Courtrai, but desist from making any further conquests. So popular was the Triple Alliance, that people said it was "*the only good thing that had been done since Charles came into*



*England.*" "They were now disposed to forgive the King all that was past, and renew their confidence in him, which was shaken by his conduct in the Dutch war."

**The Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670.** But Louis was determined not only to avenge himself on the Dutch for their interference, but, if possible, to crush the Dutch Republic out of existence altogether. He saw that he could best accomplish this by winning over Charles to his side, and he had no great difficulty in attaining his object. Charles hated the Dutch as the commercial rivals of England, and was ready to sell himself to Louis, if only the latter would provide him with plenty of money, and render him free from the control of Parliament. Matters took a practical shape, when Louis sent Charles's youngest sister, the beautiful **Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans**, over to England to conclude an alliance with Charles. The outcome of her visit was, that a **Secret Treaty** was signed at **Dover** between Charles and Louis, the chief provisions of which were:—(1) That Charles should aid Louis in his war against the Dutch; (2) That he should declare himself a Catholic and receive £200,000 a year, and 6,000 French troops to enable him to crush any rebellion in England, which might follow his attempt to re-establish Roman Catholicism.

**NOTE 1.**—This Treaty was only known to the King, and the two Roman Catholic members of the Cabal, Clifford and Arlington. Charles was so afraid that the other members might know of it, that he actually despatched Buckingham to Paris to negotiate a sham treaty with Louis, in which no mention was made of Charles's change of religion, or of the bribe paid by Louis to Charles.

**NOTE 2.**—**The Coventry Act, 1671.** The lavish expenditure of the Court, and the riotous life of the King caused much dissatisfaction in the House, and it was proposed to tax all who visited play-houses. This led Sir John Coventry to make a jest on the subject, which reflected somewhat on the character of the King as a playgoer. Charles was mean enough to employ his son Monmouth to hire bravos to punish this insult. A party of the "royal guard" attacked Sir John in the street, and slit his nose to the bone. The Commons were indignant and marked their sense of the outrage by passing an Act, making *malicious wounding a capital offence*.

**3. The Second Dutch War, 1672-74.** Charles and Louis were resolved to take the Dutch by surprise. Before war was

declared, Admiral Holmes was sent out with orders to capture the Dutch Smyrna fleet, which was on its way home laden with rich products of the East. But the merchant fleet was strongly guarded by six men-of-war and the English were ignominiously beaten off in their attack. A few days after this disgraceful affair, war was declared. A fierce naval engagement followed in **Southwold Bay**, in which the Dutch had the advantage. The fight continued a whole day. So desperate was the struggle that the Duke of York, who was in command, was compelled to transfer his flag from two different ships, which were sinking, to a third; while the gallant Earl of Sandwich, one of his commanders, refused to leave the burning *Royal James*, and so perished in the flames.

Meanwhile, Louis had thrown a powerful army over the northern border, which overran the Spanish Netherlands and invaded Holland. Amsterdam was only saved by a patriotism truly heroic. The Dutch opened their dykes, and laid the whole country under water. Louis was unable to provide subsistence for his army, and so he was compelled to retreat, and Holland was saved. But the national disgrace so incensed the Dutch, that they rose in fury against their Government. **De Ruyter** was insulted and the two brothers **De Witt**, the leaders of the Republican party, barbarously murdered. The office of Stadtholder was revived and given to **William**, son of Mary, daughter of Charles I., who, with a resoluteness of purpose, was determined to make a bold stand to save his country. He scornfully rejected the terms offered by England and France. "*Do you not see that your country is lost?*" asked Buckingham, who had been sent to urge him to submit. "*There is a sure way never to see it lost,*" replied William, "*and that is to die in the last ditch.*"

NOTE.—The Stop of the Exchequer. To raise money for the war, Charles, acting on the advice of Clifford, resorted to a device known as "*The Stop of the Exchequer.*" It was customary for goldsmiths and bankers to advance the money deposited with them by private persons to the Government on the security of the revenue, and at the present moment, the Exchequer was in debt to the amount of £1,300,000. Charles issued a proclamation ordering all payments from the Exchequer to be stopped. The result was that "a commercial panic ensued, trade became stagnant, and many widows and orphans ruined."

4. **The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.** Charles had given his promise to Louis in the Secret Treaty of Dover that he would restore Romanism. His first step towards the attainment of this object was to issue the *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending all penal laws against Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. But the wily king had overreached himself. The "Declaration" raised a storm of indignation throughout England, which he did not expect. It was thought to be but a stepping stone towards the restoration of Popery and arbitrary power. "*Forty statutes,*" it was said, "*had been violated by the Declaration.*" If, it was argued, the King could suspend one Act of Parliament by the exercise of the royal prerogative, that power might also be extended to the suspension of any Act of Parliament whatsoever. Even the Nonconformists, for whose benefit it was ostensibly passed, opposed it, and when the Parliament met, an Address was carried by a large majority begging the King to withdraw the Declaration. Charles had no moral courage, and instead of standing his ground, he feebly gave way and recalled the Declaration.
5. **The Test Act and End of the Cabal Ministry, 1673.** The triumph of the Opposition or "Country party," in compelling Charles to withdraw the Declaration, was followed by another and much more complete victory. Men saw that the Church of England was in danger, not from Dissenters, but from Roman Catholics, who held many high and important offices in the State. There were also grave suspicions afloat that Charles was a Roman Catholic at heart, while the conversion of the Duke of York was a well-known fact. Parliament therefore proceeded to pass the **Test Act**, *which required, that all persons who held office in the State, should receive the Holy Communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, and renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation.* The passing of this Act broke up the Cabal. **Clifford** resigned his post as lord-treasurer, **Arlington** almost entirely disappeared from public life, **Shaftesbury** was dismissed from the Chancellorship, and having joined the Opposition, became the King's steady opponent. **Buckingham** also passed over to the Opposition, while **Lauderdale** alone continued in office, but was chiefly occupied in Scottish

affairs. **James, Duke of York**, was also compelled to resign his post as Lord High Admiral. Thus ended the Cabal, whose existence, although it was so odious to the nation, records a step in Constitutional History as being the "*germ of the Modern Cabinet.*"

The dismissal of the Cabal Ministry was followed by a reversal of foreign policy. Peace was concluded with Holland by the **Treaty of Westminster, 1674**. By this Treaty, it was agreed that : (1) The Dutch should lower their flags and topsails to English ships of war in the narrow seas as a matter of right and not of compliment, and concede the island of St. Helena to England ; (2) That the disputes between the two East India Companies should be settled by arbitration. But Louis was afraid lest the "Opposition" should compel Charles to join the Dutch against him, and so it was arranged that Charles should prorogue Parliament, and that Louis should grant him a pension of £100,000 a year, and so render him independent of his subjects. Charles agreed to this arrangement, and Parliament was prorogued for fifteen months.

NOTE.—**Formation of the Country Party.** The double victory of the Parliament in the matter of the Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act led to the formation of a systematic opposition against the King and his Ministry. This "Opposition" was known as the "Country Party" to distinguish it from the Court Party, who supported the King, and was the beginning of the "Ministry and Opposition" of our day.

#### SECTION IV.—THE DANBY ADMINISTRATION AND THE THREE SHORT PARLIAMENTS.

1. **The Danby Administration, 1673-79.** On the breaking up of the Cabal, **Sir Thomas Osborne** (Lord Danby) became Lord High Treasurer, and the King's chief minister. He was a gentleman of Yorkshire and a man of "great political skill," and since the fall of Clarendon had been the leader of the Church party in Parliament. His **home policy** was a revival of that of Clarendon's, which was *to support the Church of England and increase the Royal Prerogative*; his **foreign policy** was just the reverse of that of Clarendon's, in that *he was friendly to the Dutch and opposed to France*. Like other leading men of his time he was in the pay of Louis, and

thought others quite as unprincipled as himself. It is said that he actually put aside annually out of the public revenue the sum of £20,000 to bribe members of Parliament.

The first acts of Danby show the arbitrary character of his government.

(1) The **Non-Resistance Bill, 1675**. To maintain a hold over Parliament, Danby introduced a "Non-Resistance Bill," compelling every officer in Church and State, and every member of both Houses of Parliament to declare on oath (a) That it was unlawful on any pretence whatever to take up arms against the king; (b) That he would never endeavour at any time to alter the government in Church or State. The Bill passed the Lords, but met with such violent opposition in the Lower House from Shaftesbury, that it was ultimately abandoned.

(2) To put a stop to political criticism and seditious language, an order was issued that all coffee-houses, which at that time took the place of modern clubs, should be closed.

(3) When the Parliament reassembled, Shaftesbury and three other peers contended that as the House had not sat for twelve months it had legally ceased to exist. Danby, however, and the other Lords, held a very different view of the matter, and not only contemptuously rejected the motion, but sent Shaftesbury and his colleagues to the Tower, where they remained for more than a year.

2. **Marriage of the Princess Mary and William of Orange, 1677**. Danby's hatred of France led him to revive the policy of "The Triple Alliance" and make friends with Holland. This he did by arranging a marriage between **Mary**, eldest daughter of James, Duke of York, and her cousin, **Prince William of Orange**, Stadtholder of Holland, and the avowed enemy of Louis. This marriage was exceedingly popular among the English people. But Louis' anger was roused against the English King and his minister. He considered that Charles had been guilty of an act of treachery in giving his consent to the marriage, and he was resolved to punish him by stopping his pension, and by encouraging the leading members of the "Opposition" to continue in their resistance against the Government. They were as ready as ever Charles had been to accept French



gold, and in 1675 it is estimated that they had received no less than £200,000 in bribes from Louis. Charles, on the other hand, was angry at the stoppage of his pension, and urged Parliament to declare war against Louis, unless he made peace with the Dutch on reasonable terms. The Commons eagerly gave their support to the King. A subsidy was voted for the projected war, but the "Country Party," led by Shaftesbury, had good reasons for believing that Charles had raised the army to make himself absolute and not for the French war, and so they demanded that the army should be at once disbanded. Disgusted at the failure of his schemes, Charles was compelled to fall back on the French King, and in 1678 he made a "secret treaty" with him, *written by Danby and signed by himself*, in which he promised, at the price of an annual pension of £300,000 for three years to dissolve Parliament, disband the army, and not to assist the Dutch if they continued the war. Shortly after, however, the war between France and Holland was brought to a close by the **Treaty of Nimegen, 1678.**

3. **The Popish Plot, 1678.** Meanwhile the nation was lashed into fury against the Roman Catholics by the rumour of the existence of a great "Popish Plot." Ever since the Gunpowder Plot, people had been inclined to believe any stories, however vague, against the Roman Catholics, and the knowledge that James, Duke of York was an avowed Romanist, and heir presumptive to the throne, now gave rise to much uneasiness about the succession. Charles, too, was suspected, not without good reason, of being a Roman Catholic, and of holding secret communication with Louis with a view to establish the Roman Catholic religion. While the country was in this state of agitation, a vile impostor, named **Titus Oates**, appeared on the scene. Oates had been at one time a clergyman of the English Church, at another time a chaplain in the royal navy, and afterwards a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, but for immoral conduct he had been degraded from each of these positions. This man gave out that there was in existence a great Jesuit plot to murder Charles, and set James, Duke of York on the throne, to massacre all good Protestants, set fire to London, and by the aid of a French army to restore

the Roman Catholic religion. Strange to say, that the magistrate, **Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey**, before whom Oates made his depositions, was shortly afterwards found murdered in the fields near Primrose Hill, and it was generally believed that the deed had been committed by the Papists "to stifle the plot." About the same time, some letters, which spoke of an approaching "blow to the Protestant cause," were found among the papers of a Roman Catholic named **Coleman**. The discovery of these letters, and the mysterious murder of Sir Edmondsbury, had the effect of strengthening the popular belief in the plot, as well as of increasing the public excitement. London was mad with terror. The House of Commons passed a resolution, "That this House is of opinion, that there hath been and still is a damnable and hellish plot, carried on by Papist recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the Government, and rooting out the Protestant religion." A proclamation was issued ordering all Roman Catholics to leave the city, trained bands were called out, and patrols paraded the streets to guard against the supposed Catholic rising. Every citizen felt it his duty to arm himself with a bludgeon loaded with lead, called the "*Protestant flail, to be used by sober citizens to brain Papist assassins.*" There was in all probability, a real Roman Catholic plot in existence at the time, but it was not Oates' plot, whose tales were a mere tissue of falsehood from beginning to end. As Dryden says, "*some truth there was, but it was dashed and brewed with lies.*" The vile informer was well rewarded for his atrocious and disreputable work. Guards were assigned him, lodgings appropriated for his use at Whitehall, and a pension granted him of £1,200 a year. He dressed like a bishop and called himself the "Saviour of the nation." Every Romanist he pointed at was arrested. "*His very breath was pestilential.*"

The success which attended Oates' infamous schemes encouraged other impostors, **Bedloe** and **Dangerfield**, to come forward and implicate Papists. On their united evidence, five Roman Catholic peers, and 2,000 clergy were arrested and thrown into prison. Several Jesuits were convicted and hanged. Even the Queen did not escape; she was accused of having given her assent to the King's

assassination. Charles treated the whole affair with characteristic indifference. "*Nobody*," said he to his brother James, "*will ever kill me to make thee king.*" Danby, conscious that there was a germ of truth in the story, made use of the panic as a check upon the King's Roman Catholic tendencies. Shaftesbury turned the public agitation to political account. "*Let the Treasurer*," said he, "*cry as loud as he please against Papacy, I will cry a note louder.*" So strong was the opposition which he led, and so bitter the general animosity against the Roman Catholics, that a Bill was passed disabling all Roman Catholics, except the Duke of York, from sitting in Parliament (1678).

4. **Impeachment of Danby and Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament, 1678.** Louis had never forgiven Charles and Danby for the part they had played in arranging the marriage between William of Orange and Mary, daughter of James. He had already punished Charles by withholding his pension, and he was now resolved to wreak his vengeance on Charles's minister. Accordingly, he instructed **Montague**, the English ambassador in Paris, to lay before the House of Commons, the secret treaty made between himself and Charles, in which he had promised to pay Charles a huge bribe for certain services, and so render him independent of Parliament. The Commons were furious and proceeded to impeach Danby of high treason. To save his minister, and prevent the disclosure of his own infamous practices, Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had now sat for more than seventeen years.

NOTE.—**Temple's Scheme of a Privy Council of Thirty, 1679.** To place a barrier between himself and the encroaching spirit of the Parliament, Charles had recourse to a new expedient in government. By the advice of Sir William Temple, the most popular statesman of his day, a new "Council of Thirty" was formed, fifteen of whom were to be ministers of the Crown, and fifteen influential Lords and Commons. It included many of the leading men of the Opposition, Shaftesbury himself being President. The plan, however, did not work well. The number of members was soon found to be too large and unwieldy for rapid and secret action, and the power soon passed into the hands of a few leading members, who practically transacted the whole business of the Council.

5. **The First Short Parliament meets, and fails to pass the Exclusion Bill, but carries the Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.** When the new Parliament met, the "Country Party" was found to be in an overwhelming majority. Danby's impeachment was at once resumed. In vain he pleaded that he had acted under royal orders, and actually produced a pardon granted him by the King under the Great Seal. But the Commons were inexorable. They voted "that the King could do no wrong, and that a minister, even when he acted under the express command of his royal master was alone responsible for his actions." Accordingly Danby was compelled to resign his office and committed to the Tower. *His impeachment and dismissal confirmed the theory of "ministerial responsibility" as an integral part of the Constitution.*

Shaftesbury had now everything his own way, and conscious of his power, resolved to bring in a Bill excluding James, Duke of York from the succession. But Charles was in no way inclined to sacrifice his brother's right to the throne, and so he dissolved the Parliament, before the Bill could pass. The Commons, however, before the dissolution, managed to secure the royal assent to the famous **Habeas Corpus Act**, long known as "Shaftesbury's Act." Its object was, *To prevent illegal and indefinite imprisonment.* It enacted: (1) That any unconvicted prisoner (except those charged with treason) could demand from one of the judges a writ of Habeas Corpus, by which the gaoler was directed to produce the body of the prisoner in court and certify the cause of his imprisonment; (2) That every person should be indicted the first term after his commitment and tried the subsequent term; (3) That no person should be recommitted for the same offence; (4) That no person should be imprisoned out of England.

NOTE.—The Bill of Habeas Corpus contained no new principle. From the earliest times Englishmen had claimed the right of being brought to trial, but the Habeas Corpus made the exercise of that ancient right more effectual.

6. **Affairs in Scotland.** In 1679, Scotland was the scene of a rebellion. The cause of this was the attempt made by Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharpe, to stamp out

"Dissent," and enforce Episcopacy upon an unwilling people. The Presbyterian Clergy were forbidden to come within twenty miles of their former parishes, or hold conventicles in the open air, while those, who attended such religious meetings, were fined, imprisoned and even put to torture. The Covenanters of the Western Lowlands refused to obey these coercive measures, and when the Government found that it could not suppress the Conventicles by the ordinary process of law, they quartered a half-savage band of Highlanders, known as the "Highland Host," on the disaffected inhabitants, who by a regular system of plunder and outrage terrified the wretched people into submission.

Archbishop Sharpe had formerly been a Presbyterian, and was hated not only for his apostacy, but for the encouragement he had given to the persecution. A band of fanatics determined to take vengeance on him. They fell in with their victim, as he was driving in his coach with his daughter across Magus Moor, near Cupar, and barbarously murdered him. His assassination was the signal for a general rising in the Lowlands. **John Graham of Claverhouse**, the English Commander, was sent against the rebels, but while attempting to disperse an armed conventicle at **Drumclog**, he was himself totally routed. The outbreak threatened to become so formidable that it was deemed necessary to send a large force, under Monmouth, the eldest of Charles's natural children, to suppress it. The insurgent rabble proved no match for the well-disciplined forces of Monmouth, and at **Bothwell Bridge** on the Clyde, they were defeated with terrible slaughter. This victory put an end to the rebellion. Subsequently, James, Duke of York was sent to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner, and by imprisonments, tortures and executions he completely crushed the spirit of the Covenanters.

7. **Charles's Second Short Parliament meets and continues the Struggle for the Exclusion Bill, 1680.** Shaftesbury and his followers were very strong in the new Parliament, and were as determined as ever in their efforts to pass the Exclusion Bill. But Charles had made up his mind that the



Bill should not pass, and so he prorogued Parliament almost as soon as it met, to prevent the Commons from accomplishing their object. Enraged at their defeat, they formed committees throughout the country for the purpose of stirring up agitation, and sent up numerous petitions to the King urging upon him the necessity of assembling Parliament and transacting business. On the other hand, counter-petitions poured in to the King from those who abhorred the petitions, and resented any interference with the royal prerogative. To these two parties the names of **Petitioners** and **Abhorrrers** were given, names, however, which were soon to be replaced by the shorter and more convenient names of **Whigs** and **Tories**. Both these latter titles were at first used as insulting nicknames; "Whig" or "Whigamore," being the name of the fanatical sect of Scottish Covenanters, and "Tory," a name given to the horde of banditti, who infested the bogs and mountains of Ireland, and robbed and plundered Protestant tyrants. Afterwards they were adopted as honourable titles by the two great political parties, into which the nation was divided.

Late in the year 1680, Parliament again met only to renew its attempt to pass the Exclusion Bill. So great was the fear entertained lest the Duke of York should succeed to the throne, that Shaftesbury conceived the preposterous scheme of bringing forward the **Duke of Monmouth**, the eldest of Charles's natural sons, as the rightful heir to the exclusion of James and his children. Monmouth was idolized by the people. He possessed a handsome person and was endowed with fair abilities, but he lacked decision and strength of character. He had won the hearts of the people by making a sort of royal progress through England in imitation of the Tudor kings, escorted by a band of gentlemen. As a soldier, he had gained some reputation in crushing the formidable rebellion of the Covenanters in Scotland, while his reported leniency towards the rebels contrasted favourably with the bigotted severity of the Duke of York. The citizens of London welcomed back the "Protestant Duke," as he was called, with every demonstration of joy. The cry was raised that he ought to be the

next king, and so Shaftesbury and his followers, in spite of Charles's own statement to the contrary, gave out that Charles had secretly married Monmouth's mother, Lucy Walters (a Welshwoman of low character), and that therefore Monmouth was the rightful heir to the throne. It was a most unwise step, and not only disgusted the more moderate members of Shaftesbury's party, but cost their leader the favour of the King. Meanwhile the Exclusion Bill had passed the Commons with an overwhelming majority, but was thrown out by the Lords, chiefly owing to the efforts of **Halifax**, who, in a convincing speech, clearly proved that the claims of **Mary, the Princess of Orange**, and daughter of James, Duke of York, were greatly superior to those of Monmouth. Halifax was a man of "great and ready wit," who prided himself on being neither Whig nor Tory, but a "Trimmer," *i.e.* one "whose duty it was to throw himself against each party, whenever it grew violent in consequence of success," just as a person is said to "trim a boat," or keep it on even keel by shifting his position.

At this stage of the proceedings, a message from the King, announcing his intention never to consent to the Exclusion Bill made the Commons furious. They refused to grant supplies until the Bill was passed, and petitioned Charles to remove Halifax from his Council for ever. In the face of such determined opposition, Charles's only course was to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the justice of the nation.

**NOTE.**—While the country was in this state of intense agitation the "Anti-popery Party" secured the execution of the aged Lord Stafford, a man of blameless life and the leader of the Roman Catholics. The whole force of informers came forward to swear away the old man's life. The charge brought against him was, that he had encompassed the death of the king, but the evidence was worthless, and after a trial of six days he was condemned to be executed. He received his sentence with holy resignation, exclaiming, "*God's holy name be praised.*" Charles knew he was innocent, but made no attempt to spare his life. "*I cannot save him,*" he said, "*because I dare not.*" On the scaffold he made frequent protestations of his innocence. "*We believe you, my lord,*" cried the sympathizing crowd. The execution of Stafford did much to dispel the belief in Oates' plot and weakened Shaftesbury's influence.

7. **The Third or Oxford Parliament and the Tory re-action, 1681.** In 1681 the crisis came. The King's appeal to the

nation was responded to with an almost universal outburst of loyalty. It was read from every pulpit. The Universities decided, "that no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture could bar the sacred right of hereditary succession." But the new Parliament was strongly Whig in character, and so Charles summoned it to meet in "Tory" Oxford, so as to be far removed from London, where the Whig element was known to be very strong. It was, moreover, rumoured that Charles intended to bring up his guards with him to Oxford to overawe the Parliament, and so the Whig chiefs, in self-defence, came attended with bands of armed followers and servants, wearing blue ribbons with the motto "*No Popery! no slavery!*" So intense was the excitement that the kingdom seemed on the verge of a second civil war. In vain Charles offered an alternative to the Exclusion Bill. He was willing, he said, to consent to his brother's banishment, and to the appointment of the Prince of Orange as Regent, provided that his brother was recognized as king. The Commons, however, would hear of nothing but "absolute exclusion," and Charles, without giving the members any time for reflection, announced the dissolution of Parliament, and for the remainder of his reign did not call another. Charles could not well have gained this second triumph without the help of Louis, who agreed to pay him £250,000 on condition that he should not call another Parliament for three years. This rendered Charles free from the necessity of asking Parliament for subsidies.

The Whigs had evidently overshot the mark. Their extreme violence against the Roman Catholics, the dread of a second civil war, the undue influence brought to bear on the King's prerogative, the sense of injustice done to James, all contributed to produce a great Tory re-action, and make the nation rally round the King.

The Tories followed up their victory with a cry for vengeance. The same corrupt judges, terrified juries, and perjured witnesses, who had recently combined to send **Roman Catholics** to the scaffold on the most flimsy and scandalous charges, now combined to work the destruction of ardent **Whigs** on charges equally scandalous and base.

Their first victim was **Stephen College**, the "Protestant joiner," who had invented the "Protestant flail." College was tried at Oxford on a charge of having borne arms against the King, and sentenced to death amidst the applause of the bystanders.

**Shaftesbury** himself was next proceeded against. He was arrested and committed to the Tower on a charge of treason. But the members of the Grand Jury of London were zealous Whigs, and refused to find a true Bill against him, and he was at once set at liberty. The **Corporations of Boroughs** were next attacked. They were known to be for the most part hot-beds of Whigism, and writs of "*Quo Warranto*" were issued, calling upon each town to show cause why its charter should not be forfeited in consequence of its having committed certain breaches of law. The real object of the Commission, however, was to frighten the towns into giving up their old charters, and then to issue new ones, in which the right of confirming all elections should be vested in the King, and Tories only be admitted as members of the Corporations. As the Corporations generally held in their own hands the election of the borough members of Parliament, it was hoped that under the new charters the Corporations would return Tory members only, and in this way a Tory majority would always be secured in the future Parliaments.

This enquiry was first applied, and most effectively, to the City of London. Other towns, fearing lest they should lose their charters altogether if they resisted, resigned their old charters willingly, and received new ones, remodelled on Tory principles. It was said of judge Jeffreys that in his northern circuit of 1684 "*he made all the charters of the towns fall down before him like the walls of Jericho.*"

8. **The Rye House Plot, 1683.** Meanwhile, the failure of all their plans had driven the Whigs to desperation. The more moderate members of their party advised simultaneous risings in London and the Whig counties but the fiercer spirits set on foot a plot to murder Charles and his brother, while returning from Newmarket races. The spot selected for the murder was near a lonely farmhouse, called the **Rye House**, in Hertfordshire, which belonged to Colonel

**Rumbold**, an old Cromwellian officer. The plot was, however, disclosed by one of the conspirators, and the Government, believing that it was mixed up with a more general conspiracy, arrested not only the would-be assassins, but also several of the leading Whigs, including **Lord Russell**, **Algernon Sidney**, **Essex** and **John Hampden**.

Charles, confident that the tide of public opinion had turned in his favour, was now determined to strike a heavy blow at the whole Whig faction. Shaftesbury had, fortunately for himself, already fled to Holland, where he died the following year. Lord Howard turned king's evidence. Russell, a man of blameless life and character, was tried for high treason. Although it was clearly proved that he had attended some of the seditious meetings of the Whigs, he had no share whatever in the Rye House Plot. The jury, however, found him guilty and he was sentenced to death and executed. He died expressing his unshaken belief in the existence of the Popish Plot, and upholding the doctrine that resistance to the King was in extreme cases legal and justifiable. Charles maintained that the man who held such opinions ought to be put to death. "*If,*" said he, "*I do not take his life he will soon take mine.*" His trial will ever be remembered in connection with the assistance rendered to him on that occasion by his devoted wife, who played the part of a private secretary, making notes of the evidence and refreshing his memory.

Algernon Sidney was the next victim. He had always stoutly maintained the republican principles of the "Rump," and now the unsubstantiated charge of conspiracy against the King was brought against him. His trial was conducted by the infamous **Judge Jeffreys** and was a mere mockery of justice. The want of a second witness against him was supplied by an unpublished treatise discovered among his papers, advocating the right of subjects to rise against and depose their sovereign. On this flimsy evidence, Sydney was condemned and executed, glorying that he suffered for "*the good old cause.*" Against Hampden no condemnatory evidence whatever could be brought forward, and yet he was convicted of a misdemeanour, and sentenced to pay the enormous fine of £40,000. Essex perished by his own hand



in the Tower, to avoid Attainder and the forfeiture of his family estates. Monmouth made a confession of his misdeeds, and having received his father's pardon, was allowed to withdraw into honourable exile in Holland.

9. **Death of Charles II., 1685.** The discovery of the Rye House Plot, and the punishment of the conspirators rendered Charles's political position so strong, that he was little less than an absolute king. For three years he adopted the unconstitutional course of dispensing with a Parliament, although the Triennial Bill stated that a Parliament ought to be summoned every three years. He chose and dismissed his own ministers, just as he thought fit, and removed the judges when they did not please him, and filled their places with his own creatures. He largely increased the standing army as a protection against popular insurrections, and appointed all its officers. He set at defiance the Test Act by allowing the Duke of York to take his seat in the Council, and resume his office as High Admiral, and upon his own responsibility released Danby from imprisonment.

Just at the time when Charles was at the height of his power, he was struck down by a fit of apoplexy. In his last moments Archbishop Sancroft came to his bedside and spoke to him in an unreserved manner about his hope of a future state. "*It is time,*" said the Archbishop, "*to speak out, for, sir, you are about to appear before a Judge who is no respecter of persons.*" But the King took no heed of the Archbishop's warning, and calling for his brother expressed a wish to be admitted into the Church of Rome. When the Bishops and courtiers had left the room, a priest named Huddleson, who had aided him in his escape from Worcester, came to his bedside, and received his confession, and having pronounced his absolution, administered the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church.

Charles retained his unaffected politeness to the very last. Although racked with intense pain he lingered on for some time in full possession of his faculties, and only the day before he died, apologized to those who stood round him all night for the trouble he had caused them. "He had been," he said, "a most unconscionable time dying, but he

hoped that they would excuse it." Shortly after, his speech failed him, and on the following day at noon he passed away without a struggle.

JAMES II. 1685—1689 (4 years).

**Title :** Son of Charles I.

**Married :** (1) Anne Hyde ; (2) Mary of Modena.

*SUMMARY OF REIGN.*

**SECTION I.—CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING  
JAMES'S ACCESSION.**

Character and Aims of James. The Tory Government is continued. Punishment of Oates and Dangerfield. Persecution of the Covenanters. Rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth. Battle of Sedgmoor. The Western Circuit or the Bloody Assize.

**SECTION II.—THE FALL OF JAMES II. AND THE  
REVOLUTION.**

James violates the Test Act. He claims and uses the Dispensing Power. He attacks the Church and the Universities. James fails in his attempt to pack a subservient Parliament. The Second Declaration of Indulgence and the Trial of the Seven Bishops. An Invitation is sent to William of Orange. General Character of the Revolution.

**NAMES OF NOTE.**

Earl of Rochester ; Halifax ; Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland ; Duke of Monmouth ; Judge Jeffreys ; Marquis of Argyll ; Dr. Hough ; Bishop Compton ; Archbishop Sancroft ; Edward Russell.

**LEADING DATES.**

Battle of Sedgmoor . . . . .	1685
Second Declaration of Indulgence . . . . .	1688
Trial of the Seven Bishops . . . . .	1688
The Crown accepted by William and Mary . . . . .	1688

## SECTION I.—ACCESSION OF JAMES II.

1. **Character and Aims of James II.** In spite of the many attempts made by the Whigs to exclude James II. from the succession on the ground of his being a Roman Catholic, he peaceably ascended the throne and became a **Roman Catholic King of Protestant England**. He was in many ways a better king than his brother, Charles II. His ardent devotion to the Roman Catholic religion, his untiring industry and business-like habits were excellent traits in his character, but he possessed none of his brother's adroitness, foresight, and political wisdom, and was absolutely void of tact and pliability. In his narrow-mindedness and obstinacy he resembled his father, Charles I., but he had none of his father's external graces. Moreover, he was conceited, remorseless, and unforgiving. "No English sovereign has ever given stronger proofs of a cruel nature than James II." He allowed himself to be led by his courtiers, and was the victim of a blind and obstinate folly, which ultimately proved his ruin.

At his accession James promised to preserve the government both in Church and State, as by law established, and never to depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown. The pledge thus given was welcomed by the whole nation. The fact that he was a Roman Catholic roused no suspicion. "*We have the word of a king,*" ran the popular cry, "*and of a king, who was never worse than his word.*" But the facts of the reign are strangely at variance with this declaration. *His great aim was to bring back England to Romanism*, and with this end in view he strove to obtain a repeal of the Test Act, abolish Habeas Corpus, and make himself an absolute king. He had not the political foresight to see that he could not accomplish his object without overthrowing the English Constitution, and he pursued his end with the characteristic obstinacy of the Stuarts. "*I will lose all, or win all,*" he once remarked to the Spanish Ambassador.

2. **The Tory Government is continued.** The accession of James was in every way a great Tory triumph. The Parliament, which met in May, 1685, was Tory by an immense majority, partly because the Whig Party had fallen into

disrepute on account of its complicity with the Rye House Plot, and partly because the re-modelled Corporations had returned only Tory members. They were as a body so satisfactory that James declared "*that there were but above forty members, but such as he himself wished for.*" They put the fullest confidence in the new King, and granted him the liberal income of £1,900,000 a year. The Tory ministers of the late King were also retained, and the Tory clergy still taught the doctrines of "passive obedience," and the "Divine right of kings."

But the fact that James openly attended mass caused some uneasiness. This was further increased by the issuing of a royal proclamation ordering all political and religious prisoners to be liberated. In virtue of this proclamation, four Roman Catholic lords were released from the Tower, and several thousands of Roman Catholics and Quakers were liberated from other prisons.

Secure of Parliamentary support, James was determined to take revenge on the informers of the infamous Popish Plot, who had attacked his honour and his life with a baseness and cruelty beyond all example. He had already instituted a civil suit against **Oates** for defamatory words, and the jury had given damage to the enormous amount of £100,000. Oates was lying in prison as a debtor, without any hope of release. He was now tried for perjury, found guilty, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life; to stand in the pillory five times every year, and to be flogged twice from Aldgate to Newgate, and after an interval of two days, to be flogged again from Newgate to Tyburn. This rigorous sentence was actually carried out. On the second day, a bystander counted no less than 1,700 lashes. No doubt the punishment was intended to be fatal, but Oates, strange to say, survived it, and lived to be liberated from confinement, and to receive a pension from William III.

**Dangerfield** also suffered a similar punishment, but on his way back to prison he was severely wounded in the face by a law-student, named Francis. Shortly after, Dangerfield died, either from the effects of the wound he had received, or from the severity of his flogging. To appease popular indignation, the Government thought it expedient to lay his death at

Francis's door, and he was hanged for murder. Even men of irreproachable lives did not escape persecution. **Richard Baxter**, the most learned and most moderate of the Nonconformists, and a man of unblemished character and spotless reputation, was fined and imprisoned by Chief Justice Jeffreys for complaining about the persecution of Dissenters in a work he had written called "A Paraphrase of the New Testament."

NOTE.—The Persecution of the Covenanters. The fiery persecution of the Covenanters, which had raged in Scotland during the time James had been Viceroy, waxed hotter now that he was King. An Act was passed, by which all who preached at indoor conventicles, and all who were present at open-air conventicles were to be punished with death. **Graham of Claverhouse** made himself notorious in hunting down and brutally punishing the wretched Covenanters. Among the many instances of his atrocious cruelty may be mentioned that of **Margaret Wilson**, a young girl, who was tied to a stake in the Solway Firth, and drowned by the rising tide. While she was in the agony of death, the officer in charge asked her if she would abjure the Covenant. "*Never*," she replied, "*I am Christ's, let me go*," and soon the waters closed over her.

3. **The Rebellion of Argyll and Monmouth, 1685.** Although James II. had so peacefully succeeded to the throne, the more desperate of the exiled Whigs in Holland were determined not to abandon their cause without a struggle. Deceived by a Scotchman named **Robert Fergusson**, and misled by promises of help in England, they imagined that all England would rise to dethrone a Roman Catholic king, if only a Protestant leader should present himself. Accordingly they planned a two-fold invasion in favour of the **Protestant Duke Monmouth**.

The first expedition was led by the **Earl of Argyll**, and was destined for Scotland, where it was hoped that the Scottish Covenanters, disgusted with the tyranny of the Government, would readily rally round his standard. The second expedition was entrusted to Monmouth himself, who was to land in the West of England, where he was known to be very popular, and the Whig element very strong. To preserve some unity in the two-fold expedition, it was arranged that **Rumbold** should accompany Argyll, and **Fergusson** of the Scottish party should be attached to



Monmouth. Argyll landed on the coast of Cantyre. On reaching Campbelltown he issued a proclamation declaring "that King James II. had murdered the late King, and that Monmouth was the rightful heir to the throne; that the object of the expedition was the suppression of Popery and Prelacy, and that all good Scotchmen should fight valiantly for the cause of their country and their God." But the Government, having received timely warning of Argyll's approach, had called out the royal troops to oppose him, and had arrested all the chiefs of the Campbell clan, who were supposed to be favourable to the cause of the invader, and had thrown them into distant prisons. Moreover, Argyll's limited authority, his ignorance of military matters, and the jealousy, bickerings, and insubordination of his fellow officers weakened his hands, and before he could accomplish anything, his little force gradually melted away, and he himself was captured disguised as a peasant, and brought to Edinburgh. He was then dragged through the streets of the city in triumph, "*bareheaded, his hands behind his back, and the hangman walking before him,*" and ten days afterwards, executed under the old sentence pronounced against him in 1681. To the very last he maintained a calm and dignified demeanour, declaring that "he died not only a Protestant, but with a hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and superstition." The intrepid **Rumbold** had already suffered on the scaffold. Throughout the whole of the campaign he had behaved like a soldier, who had been trained in the school of the Great Protector, and now he met his fate with unflinching fortitude, declaring that "if every hair of his head were a man he would venture them all in the cause."

Meanwhile the royal troops wreaked their vengeance on the people of Argyleshire. Many of the Campbells were hanged without a trial, the whole country was mercilessly devastated, and hundreds of rebels transported to the Colonies.

4. **Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685.** Monmouth's rebellion was at first more successful than Argyll's had been. He landed at **Lyme** in Dorset accompanied by Lord Grey and Fergusson, and was welcomed with the shouts of, "*A Monmouth! A Monmouth! and the Protestant Religion!*" But he injured

his cause by issuing a foolish proclamation : (1) claiming to be the legitimate son of Charles II. and the rightful king of England ; (2) denouncing James II. as a tyrant and a usurper, who had burned London, strangled Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, and poisoned the late King ; (3) and promising a free Parliament, toleration for all Protestants, upright judges, a restitution of forfeited charters, and a repeal of the Corporation Act. The peasants, cloth-weavers and colliers of the Western counties flocked to his standard, but the county-gentry gave him no support. He entered **Taunton** at the head of 5,000 men, and met with a most enthusiastic reception. The streets were adorned with festoons of flowers, and a train of young girls presented him with a richly embroidered flag, a Bible and a sword. On the 20th of June, the very day on which the Earl of Argyll was led in triumph through the streets of Edinburgh, *Monmouth was proclaimed King of England in the market-place of Taunton.* He then pressed on in the hope of securing Bristol, but his troops having experienced a slight repulse at **Philip's Norton**, he marched to Frome.

Meanwhile the royal forces under the Earl of Feversham and Lord Churchill began to close in upon him, and he was compelled to fall back on Bridgewater, while the royal troops took up their station on the half-reclaimed fens of **Sedgmoor** to the east of the town. Monmouth was soldier enough to know that his untrained and badly-armed peasants were no match for the well-disciplined and well-equipped forces of the royal army. He therefore determined to hazard a night attack. Accordingly, about midnight, he led his men across the morass in the direction of the royalist camp, when suddenly they were arrested in their march by a deep broad ditch, called the **Bussex Rhine**, the existence of which had been unknown to them. A random pistol-shot alarmed the royal sentinels, the drums beat to arms and soon the troops were ready for action. A fierce fire of musketry was opened from both banks of the stream. At the first volley, Lord Grey and his cavalry fled in confusion, and the men, who had charge of the ammunition, followed their example. Monmouth then advanced his infantry, and although they were armed with no better weapons than forks and scythes

fastened to the end of long poles, they stood their ground like veteran troops, and fought long and desperately. At last they were out-flanked by Feversham's forces, and when the morning broke, Monmouth, seeing that all was lost, took refuge in ignominious flight. Although a reward of £5,000 was offered for his apprehension, he contrived to escape to the New Forest, where a few days later he was captured, hiding in a dry ditch covered with bracken. *Sedgmoor was the last battle fought on English ground.*

Meanwhile Parliament had passed a Bill of Attainder against Monmouth, condemning him to death without further trial. He was brought to London, and the King with a strange cruelty granted him a personal interview, although he never intended to pardon him. Monmouth threw himself at his uncle's feet, and made the most abject and craven entreaties for his life, but James was unmoved, and after spending upwards of an hour in reminding him of his evil doings, sent him to the scaffold. Monmouth was executed on Tower Hill amidst the gaze of thousands of spectators. "*I shall say but little,*" he said, "*I came here not to speak but to die ; I die a Protestant of the Church of England.*" Some words of advice to the executioner "*not to hack his body,*" so completely unnerved the man, that it was only after five strokes with the axe that he completed his ghastly work. Monmouth, with all his faults, was much beloved by the lower classes of the people. Many regarded him as nothing less than a martyr, who had died for the Protestant Faith.

The victors of Sedgmoor followed up their victory by a cruel and bloodthirsty revenge. Feversham had returned to London leaving **Colonel Kirke** in command at Bridgewater. Kirke was a veteran soldier, who had served against the Moors in Tangiers, and his soldiers were ironically called "*Lambs,*" in allusion to the emblem of their regiment. His treatment of the insurgents was most barbarous. Under his orders, no less than 100 captives were cruelly put to death without even the form of a trial, during the week which followed the battle of Sedgmoor.

5. **The Western Circuit, or the Bloody Assize, 1685.** But Kirke's ferocious measures did not satisfy James. A Commission of five judges, headed by the coarse and brutal

Judge Jeffreys, was sent out on the Western Circuit to try those, who had taken part in the rebellion, and now crowded the gaols of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire. In the **Bloody Assize**, as this circuit has been called, Jeffreys hanged 320 rebels, and sent upwards of 841 poor wretches into slavery to the West Indies. He himself boasted "*that he had hanged more traitors than all his predecessors since the Conquest.*" "At every spot where two roads met, on every market-place, on the green of every large village, which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattering in the wind, or heads and quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air, and made the traveller sick with horror."

NOTE.—But Jeffreys was not content with merely putting his wretched victims to death, he mocked and insulted them with coarse language and brutal jokes. One of them pleaded that he was a good Protestant. "Protestant," cried Jeffreys, "you mean Presbyterian, I'll hold you a wager of it. I can smell a Presbyterian forty miles." Some one tried to move the hard-hearted judge to pity in favour of one of the accused. "My lord," he said, "this poor creature is on the parish." "Do not trouble yourselves," said Jeffreys, "I will ease the parish of the burden," and he ordered the man to be hanged at once.

Some of the prisoners only escaped hanging by bribing the Judge with enormous sums of money, one man paying as much as £15,000. Batches of prisoners were given to the Queen to be sold as slaves in the plantations of the West Indies, while the maids of honour actually received £2,000 as a ransom, wrung out of the parents of the poor school-girls, who had presented a standard and a Bible to Monmouth at Taunton.

James turned a deaf ear to all entreaties for mercy. Good Bishop Ken interceded on behalf of the prisoners, but James was inexorable. Even Churchill revolted at the hard-heartedness with which James refused to listen to every appeal for mercy. "*This marble,*" he said, laying his hand on the chimney-piece, on which he was leaning, "*is not harder than the King's heart.*" At a later period, Jeffreys himself stated, that even in his utmost cruelty, he had fallen short of his master's wishes.

Among the many instances of Jeffreys' barbarous treatment of his prisoners may be mentioned that of an aged lady, named Alice Lisle, who lived at Winchester. She had, it appears, afforded shelter to two fugitives from Sedgmoor, and Jeffreys sentenced her to be burnt alive, a sentence which was afterwards mercifully commuted to beheading. She met her death with a serene courage. Another woman named Elizabeth Gaunt was burnt at Tyburn for a similar offence. Some of the prisoners, to whom Jeffreys was unable to bring home the charge of high treason, were convicted of misdemeanours, and



sentenced to the most terrible punishments. One poor woman, who had spoken some "rash" words, was condemned to be whipped through all the market towns in the county of Dorset. A still more barbarous sentence was passed on a lad for uttering some seditious words. He was condemned to imprisonment for seven years, during which period he was to be flogged every year through every market town in Dorsetshire. On hearing the sentence, the women who were present at the trial burst into tears. "My lord," said the clerk of arraigns, "the prisoner is very young. There are many market towns in this county. The sentence amounts to whipping once a fortnight for seven years." "If he is a young man," retorted the Judge, "he is an old rogue." Subsequently, however, the sentence was remitted in return for a bribe, which reduced the prisoner to poverty.

## SECTION II.—THE FALL OF JAMES II. AND THE REVOLUTION.

1. **James violates the Test Act, 1686.** James was now at the very height of his prosperity and power. Parliament had proved most loyal to him, and assisted him in crushing a most formidable rebellion. The Tories had stood by his side, and even the influential Whigs had held aloof in the insurrection. He now began to think seriously about carrying out the one great aim of his life, *the restoration of Romanism in England*. If he could succeed in this, he might then regain the old power of the Crown. But unfortunately he never reckoned on the difficulties, which lay in the way of the accomplishment of this object, and, like his father, had no true knowledge of the spirit and temper of his subjects. He seems to have entirely ignored the fact that at least nine-tenths of the nation were Protestants, who bore an intense hatred towards Roman Catholics, and who would rather give up their King than their Protestant Faith. It was this lack of political insight on the part of James, combined with a persistent obstinacy, which ultimately led to his ruin. Moreover, James's councillors were nothing but self-seeking, demoralized courtiers. The worst of them was, perhaps, **Robert Spencer**, Earl of Sunderland, a statesman of remarkable foresight and ability, but "cold-hearted, corrupt and unprincipled," ready to accept any religious faith, if by so doing he could please his master. James's other advisers were the infamous **Jeffreys**, now Lord Chancellor, **Richard Talbot**, Earl of Tyrconnel, an Irish Roman Catholic,



and a man of depraved morals, and **Father Petre**, a Jesuit priest.

NOTE.—About this time an event occurred in France, which roused Protestant feeling in England against the Roman Catholics. Henry IV. had in 1598 issued an edict known as the **Edict of Nantes**, granting toleration and religious liberty to all Protestants within his dominions. In 1685 Louis XIV. revoked this Edict and handed the Protestants over to a cruel persecution. Thousands sought refuge in England, bringing with them their skill and trades, and, above all, the tales of suffering they had undergone and a deep hatred of Popery. They were warmly received by the English people, and some of them settled in the fields East of London, where they established the silk trade of Spitalfields. But many Englishmen were apprehensive lest what Louis had done to the Protestants in France, James would also do to the Protestants in England, if he had the power.

James began his plan of operation by violating the Test Act. He allowed Roman Catholic officers to hold commissions in the newly-formed regiments, and when Halifax protested, he was instantly dismissed from office. As soon as Parliament met, he informed the members in a haughty speech, that “*to avoid rebellions in the future, a standing army was necessary, and he hoped that supplies to meet the expenses would be granted.*” He further announced that he had appointed Roman Catholic officers to fill posts in the army, and, although he knew that they were disqualified by law, he did not intend to give them up. Loyal as the members were,—and perhaps they constituted the most loyal House, that had ever been elected,—their alarm at the threatened introduction of Popery and a standing army was even stronger than their loyalty. “*I hope that we are all Englishmen,*” said John Coke, the Tory member for Derby, “*and not to be frightened from our duty by a few high words.*” So strong was the opposition led by Seymour, that a vote was passed, deferring the grant of supplies until all grievances were redressed, and demanding the recall of all the commissions, which had been illegally granted to officers in the army. Among the Lords, the opposition was of a still more defiant character, and James was so disgusted with the failure of his attempt that he hurriedly prorogued both Houses, and resolved to adopt other means of gaining his ends.

NOTE.—After this, Parliament was prorogued from time to time until it was finally dissolved in 1687. For the remainder of his reign James did not call another.

2. James claims and uses the Dispensing Power, 1686. Failing to obtain a repeal of the Test Act, James was determined to gain his ends by a lavish use of certain prerogatives of the Crown called the "Dispensing and Suspending Powers." By the first of these prerogatives he claimed and exercised the right of "dispensing with," or setting aside, the execution of penal laws in individual cases; by the second the right of "suspending" or doing away with the operation of any law or laws.

He was anxious to take the opinions of the Judges, whether he could legally use these powers, and so he arranged that a "sham" trial should be instituted against **Sir Edward Hales**, a Roman Catholic, to whom he had given a commission in the army without the usual tests. But he took care to have twelve judges, whom he knew would lend themselves to his views. Jones, the Chief Justice, a man of integrity and high principle, refused to do so; and was told that he must either give up his opinion or his place. "For my place," he replied, "I care little; I am old and worn out in the service of the Crown; but I am mortified to find that your Majesty thinks me capable of giving a judgment, which none but an ignorant or dishonest man could give." "I am determined," said the King, "to have twelve judges, who shall be of my mind in this matter." "Your Majesty," answered the Chief Justice, "may find twelve judges of your mind, but hardly twelve lawyers." He was dismissed together with three others. When the trial came on, Hales pleaded that he had acted under the King's "dispensing power." All the Judges except one decided for the defendant, and gave it as their opinion "*that it was of the king's prerogative to dispense with penal laws in particular cases.*"

Armed with this decision, James set the Test Act at defiance and freely gave offices to Roman Catholics both in Church and State. By royal dispensation, **Obadiah Walker**, the Master of University College, Oxford, who had turned Roman Catholic, was allowed to retain his post. Walker converted his college into nothing less than a Roman

Catholic seminary, set up a press for printing Roman Catholic tracts, and allowed mass to be celebrated openly every day. **Massey**, an avowed Roman Catholic, was appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Fell, and **Parker**, a secret Roman Catholic, was made Bishop of Oxford.

In filling the posts of State with Roman Catholics, James was even more reckless. He removed his own brother-in-law, **Lord Clarendon**, a staunch Churchman, from his post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed **Richard Talbot**, the Earl of Tyrconnel, in his place. **Lord Rochester's** refusal to become a Roman Catholic, was followed by his dismissal from the post of High-Treasurer, and Lord Bellasyse, a Roman Catholic, received the appointment. **Lord Herbert**, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, was also deprived of his command. Another Roman Catholic, **Lord Arundel**, became Lord of the Privy Seal. James actually went so far as to allow his own confessor, Father Petre, to sit in the Privy Council, and shortly after he received the Papal Nuncio in state at Windsor. Encouraged by marks of royal favour, monks of the various Roman Catholic orders appeared in their religious garb in the streets of London, a large school was set up by the Jesuits in the Savoy, and a gorgeous chapel opened for the celebration of mass in the palace of St. James's.

3. **Attack on the Church and the Universities.** To punish those of the clergy, who had opposed him, James revived the **High Commission Court**, which had been abolished forty years before by the Long Parliament. This illegal body, with Jeffreys at its head, ordered **Compton**, Bishop of London, to suspend Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles' in the Fields, London, for preaching against Roman Catholics. As Compton refused to obey the order, he was at once suspended.

Meanwhile a riot, which had taken place on the occasion of the opening of a Roman Catholic Chapel in the city, was made the pretext for establishing a large standing army of 13,000 men at Hounslow Heath with a view to overawe the Londoners.

In attacking the Universities, James's object was to convert these educational institutions into great seminaries for the spreading of Roman Catholicism. Cambridge escaped lightly. In 1687 a royal order was sent to the University of that city directing the Senate to admit to the degree of Master of Arts a certain Benedictine monk, named Francis, without the usual oaths. The demand being refused, the Vice-Chancellor, **Dr. Peachall**, and eight deputies of the Senate, including **Sir Isaac Newton**, were summoned before the High Commission and deprived of their offices.

But the attack on the University of Oxford was much more violent, and proved how little James cared either for constitutional law or old-established custom. The Presidentship of Magdalen College having fallen vacant, James ordered the Fellows to elect one, **Farmer**, a man of bad character and a Roman Catholic, as their President. Contrary to the King's order, the Fellows proceeded to elect **Dr. Hough**, one of their own body, as indeed they had a perfect right to do by the statutes of their College. For this contumacious conduct they were cited to appear before the High Commission at Whitehall. Hough's election was declared void, and Farmer having been set aside altogether, the Fellows were bidden to elect Parker, the Bishop of Oxford. But they still refused to obey the royal command, maintaining that Hough had been lawfully elected, and that they as Fellows were bound by oath to acknowledge him as their President. James was furious. He visited Oxford in person and summoned the refractory Fellows into his presence. They all fell on their knees and presented him with a petition, but he would not look at it. "Is this your loyalty to the Church of England?" said he; "I am King; I will be obeyed. Go to your Chapel this instant and admit the Bishop of Oxford. Let those who refuse look to it; for they shall feel the whole weight of my hand." They indeed retired to the Chapel, but would not elect the Bishop. They said "that in all things lawful they were ready to obey the King, but they would not violate their statutes and their oaths." James was greatly incensed and left the city. Shortly after, the Commissioners

came down to Oxford "escorted by three troops of cavalry with drawn swords" to install Parker in his office. But so strong was the general feeling against the action of the Commissioners, that no blacksmith could be found in the whole of the city, who was willing to force the lock of the President's lodgings. The Commissioners, therefore, were compelled to employ their own servants, who broke open the doors with iron bars, and in this extraordinary manner, Parker was installed in his new residence.

James was so infatuated with what he considered the success of his enterprise, that he went a step further in his headlong career. As the Fellows refused to ask pardon, James, as he had threatened, "laid the whole weight of his hand upon them." With one sweeping edict he ordered the twenty-five Fellows to be expelled from the College, and to be declared incapable of ever holding any ecclesiastical appointments. Parker died almost immediately after his installation, and the College was at once converted into a Roman Catholic Seminary. Bonaventura Giffard, a Roman Catholic Bishop, was appointed President and twelve Roman Catholic Fellows admitted in one day.

The general result of these illegal and coercive measures was to array the whole nation against James, and particularly the clergy, who were most indignant at the violent and unprovoked attack upon the rights and liberties of the Universities.

But James had not pursued his reckless course without due warning of the dangers which attended it. Pope Innocent XI., a wise and prudent man, advised him to adopt greater patience and moderation, Louis persuaded him to use greater caution, and some of his own Roman Catholic subjects begged him to rule according to law. But all to no purpose. Even the great Tory nobles were resolute in their opposition to the King. The Duke of Somerset was ordered to introduce the Nuncio into the Presence Chamber. "I am advised," he answered, "that I cannot obey your Majesty without breaking the law." "Do you not know that I am above the law?" James asked, angrily. "Your Majesty may be, but I am not," retorted the Duke. He was instantly dismissed from his post.



4. **James fails in his attempt to pack a subservient Parliament.** James had offended the nobility, the country-gentry, the Universities, and the Church, by his arbitrary proceedings. As a last resource, he was compelled to make common cause with the Dissenters, and try to unite that body with the Roman Catholics against the Established Church. On his own authority he issued a **Declaration of Indulgence**, suspending the execution of all penal laws for religious offences, and forbidding the imposition of all religious oaths and tests as qualifications for office. Persecution had fallen so heavily on the Dissenters, that it is not to be wondered at that many of them joyfully accepted the boon. But the majority, including some leading men such as Baxter and Howe, repudiated the Indulgence altogether, as being a direct violation of law, and a measure intended to benefit the Roman Catholics.

In 1687, James dissolved the existing Parliament in the hope of obtaining another, which would sanction the Declaration of Indulgence. The Lord-Lieutenants of the counties were instructed to send to the King a list of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, suitable to sit in Parliament, and to encourage the election of members pledged to the repeal of the Test Act. A Board of Regulators was also formed with powers to further remodel the Corporations by appointing Roman Catholics and Dissenters to sit in them, who would send up members to Parliament to support the King. The whole scheme, however, turned out a complete failure. The Lord-Lieutenants were staunch Tories, and James's request met with a flat refusal. The attempt to re-model the Corporations was equally unsuccessful, and so the idea of packing a Parliament was abandoned.

5. **The Second Declaration of Indulgence, and the Trial of the Seven Bishops, 1688.** At last the crisis came. Not content with simply issuing the Declaration of Indulgence, James was determined to show his complete authority over the Church and put its loyalty to a further test. He issued a Second Declaration of Indulgence, together with a royal order, that it should be read by the officiating clergy in all the churches and chapels at Divine service on the first two Sundays in June, 1688. The clergy

roused themselves to make a bold and united stand against this arbitrary measure. At a meeting held at Lambeth, **Sancroft**, the Primate, drew up a respectful and temperate petition, full of assertions of loyalty, begging the King that the clergy might be excused from reading the Declaration. The petition was signed by **Sancroft**, Archbishop of Canterbury, **Lloyd**, Bishop of St. Asaph, **Turner**, of Ely, **Lake**, of Chichester, **Ken**, of Bath and Wells, **White**, of Peterborough, and **Trelawney**, of Bristol, and conveyed by the six Bishops, in person, to James at Whitehall. Sancroft was absent, having been forbidden the royal presence. James was taken unawares. "This," said he, "is indeed a great surprise to me; I did not expect it from your Church, especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion." In vain the Bishops solemnly protested that they were no rebels, but James would not listen to their excuses. "This is the standard of rebellion," he repeated. "Did ever a good churchman question the Dispensing Power before? Have not some of you preached upon it and written upon it? It is a standard of rebellion. I will have my Declaration published." "We have two duties to perform," answered Ken, "our duty to God, and our duty to your Majesty. We honour you but we fear God." James only grew the more angry. "You are trumpeters of sedition," he said. "Go to your dioceses and see that I am obeyed. I will keep this paper; I will remember that you have signed it. God has given me the Dispensing Power, and I will maintain it." The Bishops then respectfully withdrew. That very evening, in some mysterious way, the petition appeared in print, and was sold in the streets by thousands.

When the day came, on which the Declaration had to be read, only four of the London clergy ventured to read it, and when they did so, their congregations rose up in a body, and marched out of church. In one of the churches, Samuel Wesley, the father of the celebrated John Wesley, took as his text on that occasion the words, "*Be it known to thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.*" In the provinces the clergy were equally disobedient.

James was somewhat alarmed at this unexpected demon-

stration of insubordination, but he could not retrace his steps without humiliation. On the advice of Jeffreys, he determined to bring the seven Bishops to trial "for having published a seditious libel." Accordingly, they were summoned to appear before the King in Council. They confessed to their signatures on the petition, but they refused to find bail, on the ground that being Peers they were not compelled to do so for libel. There was, therefore, no other course left to James but to send them to prison. The public anxiety was intense. The river was lined with boats filled with enthusiastic spectators, and as the royal barge which conveyed the Bishops to the Tower passed along, shouts arose from each side of, "*God bless your Lordships!*" The very sentinels posted at the Traitor's Gate implored their blessing, and the soldiers in the Tower drank their healths. Every day the first nobles in the land crowded to pay their respects to the imprisoned Bishops, and what more than all the rest enraged the King, was the fact that a deputation of ten Nonconformist ministers also waited on them. The excitement spread into almost every corner of the land. The men of Cornwall in particular were moved by the danger, which threatened their venerable bishop. All over the county the peasants chanted a ballad, the refrain of which was,

"And shall Trelawney die, and shall Trelawney die ?

Then thirty thousand Cornish boys shall know the reason why."

NOTE.—In the midst of the popular agitation the Queen bore James a son. The birth of the prince filled James with delight, but the whole nation with gloomy despair. Men had looked forward with joy to the time when the Protestant Princess, Mary of Orange, should succeed to the throne of her father, and undo all the evil work which he had done. But now it was evident that the King's tyranny would not be terminated with his life. The prince would undoubtedly be brought up as a Roman Catholic, and perhaps govern worse than his father. In their anger, people refused to believe that the child was the Queen's son. They said that it was the son of some poor woman, and that it had been secretly introduced into the palace by the Jesuits to prevent the succession of a Protestant to the throne. For many years the greater part of the nation believed this story, and the unfortunate prince was always known to them as the "Pretender."

James was terrified at the violence of the tempest he had raised. His ministers advised him to give way, but his obstinacy seemed to have increased with the danger. He declared that the trial should go on. "*Indulgence*," he said, "*had ruined his father.*" Accordingly on June 29th, 1688, the Bishops were brought to trial before the Court of King's Bench in Westminster Hall. The four judges were creatures of the court, and the jury was carefully packed. Everything in fact was done to ensure a victory for the King. After it had been proved that the Bishops had signed the petition, and "published" it, *i.e.* presented it to the King, the more important question respecting the character of the petition itself was next considered. Among the speeches of the defendant's counsel the most weighty was that of **Somers**. He argued that the petition was not "*false*," for every fact, which it set forth, had been shown to be true from the journals of Parliament; it was not "*malicious*," for the defendants had not sought an occasion of strife, but they had been forced into their position by the government; it was not "*sedition*," for it had not been scattered by the writers among the rabble, but delivered privately into the hands of the King alone; and lastly it was not a "*libel*," but a decent petition, such as by the laws of all civilized states a subject, who thinks himself aggrieved, may with propriety present to the sovereign. The lawyers for the prosecution replied, but their arguments were worthless. The judges then proceeded to give their opinion. Two of them said, that it was the right of the subject to petition the King, but that the Bishops' petition was improperly worded, and was therefore in the eye of the law a "*libel*." The other two said, that it was "*no libel*." One of these, **Powell**, went a step further. He avowed that "*the Declaration of Indulgence was a nullity, and that the Dispensing Power was utterly inconsistent with all law.*" "*If*," said he, "*such a Dispensing Power were allowed, there would be an end of Parliament, the whole legislative authority would be vested in the King.*"

It was late in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider their verdict, and they were locked up all night without food. In their raging thirst, they lapped up the

water, which had been allowed to pass into their room for washing. At first, nine were for acquitting the bishops and three for convicting them. Soon, however, two of the three gave way, but the third, a man named Arnold, the King's brewer, remained obstinate. He had bitterly complained of the position in which he found himself. "Whatever I do," said he, "I shall sure to be half-ruined. If I say, 'Not Guilty,' I shall brew no more beer for the king, and if I say, 'Guilty,' I shall brew no more beer for anybody else." One of his fellow-jurymen, a country squire named Austin, wished to argue with him, but the brewer said that his mind was already made up; he would not desert his royal master, and therefore he should not acquit the Bishops. "If you come to that," replied Austin, "look at me. I am the largest and strongest of the twelve, and before I find such a petition as this a libel, here I will stay till I am no bigger than a tobacco-pipe." It was not till six in the morning that Arnold yielded.

The court met at ten to receive the verdict, and when the foreman announced "*Not Guilty*," a shout of joy rose from the benches and galleries. "In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and in another moment the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so, in a few moments, the glad tidings went flying past the Savoy and the Friars to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market-places and coffee-houses, broke forth into acclamations. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weeping. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point, that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation." (MACAULAY).

"*Never*," says an eye-witness, "*within man's memory have*



*there been such shouts and such tears of joy."* All night bonfires blazed in every street, windows were illuminated with rows of candles, and the Pope burnt in effigy before Whitehall. On the very morning on which the Bishops were acquitted, James was in the camp at Hounslow Heath devoting his time to his favourite amusement of reviewing his troops. Suddenly a mighty shout burst upon his ears. "*What is that?*" he cried. "*Nothing,*" replied Feversham, "*except that the soldiers are glad that the Bishops are acquitted.*" "*Do you call that nothing,*" said James, "*so much the worse for them.*" The shout told him plainly enough that even his soldiers had deserted him.

Although James's defeat had been most complete, and most humiliating, he would not give way. In anger he broke up the camp at Hounslow, and sent the troops to different parts of the country. He dismissed the two judges, who had favoured the acquittal of the bishops. He ordered the chancellors and archdeacons of each diocese to send to the High Commission a list of those clergy, who had not read the Declaration of Indulgence, but not a man obeyed the order. Public indignation was still further incensed, when it became known that James had brought over draughts from the Roman Catholic army, which Tyrconnel had raised in Ireland, and enrolled them in his English regiments. Even the Roman Catholic peers, who sat at his Council protested against this measure. In the army the irritation was so intense, that the Lieutenant-Colonel and five Captains of one regiment laid down their commissions rather than admit the Irish intruders.

6. **Invitation is sent to William of Orange, 1688.** The attempt made by James to destroy the Church of England and introduce Romanism, his exercise of arbitrary power in defiance of law and custom, the trial of the Seven Bishops, and the birth of a prince, all led to the formation of a great conspiracy to overthrow him, and place **William of Orange** on the throne. In this conspiracy, the Tories seem to have forgotten their favourite doctrine of "non-resistance" and joined the Whigs. Both parties considered that the only way to secure England's civil and religious liberty was to remove James from the throne. Accordingly on the very day

on which the Bishops were acquitted, Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor, was sent to Holland with a letter to William, Prince of Orange, asking him to come over with a strong army to secure the liberties of the people of England. The letter was signed by seven of the leading Whigs and Tories. Their names were, **Henry Sidney**, brother of Algernon Sidney, the **Earl of Devonshire**, the leader of the Whigs, **Shrewsbury**, a rising young statesman of the Whig party, **Danby**, the old Tory minister of Charles II., **Compton**, the suspended Bishop of London, **Admiral Russell**, cousin of the unfortunate Lord Russell executed in 1683, and **Lord Lumley**.

William gladly accepted the offer, **not** so much from a desire to secure the constitutional rights of Englishmen, as to strengthen the European alliance he had formed against Louis' aggressive policy by getting England on his side. But a great difficulty lay in his way. The army of Louis was threatening the southern frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, and William dare not leave his country unprotected and invade England. The indifference of James, however, proved of the greatest advantage to William. Louis had repeatedly warned the English King of the danger, which threatened him from Holland, but all to no purpose. He now offered him the assistance of his fleet to repel William's invasion, but James indignantly rejected the offer, saying "*that he was quite able to take care of himself.*" Louis' anger was roused. He immediately withdrew his troops from the frontier of the Netherlands and invaded the Palatinate, thus leaving William to act unopposed.

On October 10th, William issued a Declaration, in which he said that "by his near relationship to the kingdom of England, he felt imposed upon him the duty of protecting the civil and religious liberty of its people; that his appearing in arms in England would therefore not be with the thought of conquest, but only to secure a free and loyal Parliament, by the decision of which he pledged himself to abide." The appearance of this Declaration at last convinced James of his danger. As he read it "*the blood left his cheeks and he remained some time speechless.*" He at once began to make

a series of hasty concessions, in the hope of conciliating his estranged subjects. He consulted the Bishops, whom he had lately prosecuted, abolished the Court of High Commission, re-instated Dr. Hough and the expelled Fellows of Magdalen College, rescinded Compton's suspension, removed Father Petre and Sunderland from the Council, cancelled the appointments of many Roman Catholic officials, restored the ancient Charters to the city of London and other towns, and replaced the dismissed Lord-Lieutenants. Further he promised to protect the Church, maintain the Act of Uniformity, and exclude all Roman Catholics from the House of Commons.

But it was too late. James was still mistrusted by the whole nation, and William had already set sail with fifty men-of-war and transports carrying some 15,000 men. On the 5th of November, he landed at **Torbay**, and three days after seized **Exeter**, where he was well received by the common people. But for a time the nobility held aloof. Men had not forgotten the Bloody Assize and were unwilling to risk all in another insurrection. A fortnight later, however, the nobles and squires began to flock to his camp, and **Plymouth** declared in his favour. In the northern and midland counties the Earls of Derby and Devonshire had raised the standard of rebellion, and ere long all England had risen to welcome the invader.

At first, James was determined to hazard a battle, and joined his troops at Salisbury with that intention, but every day his officers were deserting him, and his men, who had no heart in his cause, melted away. Among the deserters was the faithless **Lord Churchill**, a man who had received many marks of favour from James. He left behind him a letter of explanation, saying that "although he owed everything to the royal favour he was a Protestant, and could not conscientiously draw his sword against the Protestant cause." Even James's son-in-law, **George of Denmark**, accompanied by the **Duke of Ormond**, joined William, and at last James, finding that he was abandoned by those whom he most trusted, made his way back to London. There he learnt the news that his own daughter, **Anne**, had followed the example of her husband, and

escorted by Bishop Compton, who was clad "in a buff coat and jack-boots," had fled to the northern rebels. "*God help me,*" cried the wretched King, "*for my own children have forsaken me.*"

Meanwhile, William had advanced to **Hungerford**. In his alarm, James sent his wife and his son to France. He then ordered writs to be prepared for a free Parliament, and entered into negotiations with William to the effect that both armies should remain at a distance of forty miles from the capital, while the Parliament was sitting. Suddenly, however, his courage seems to have failed him and he changed his plans. He burnt with his own hands the writs, and flung the Great Seal into the Thames, with the foolish hope, that by so doing, everything would be thrown into inextricable confusion. Disguised as a country gentleman, he attempted to make his way out of England, but he was stopped near **Sheerness** by some rough fishermen, and brought back to Whitehall.

The news of James's flight threw London into a state of confusion. Riots broke out, Roman Catholic chapels were sacked and burnt, and the Roman Catholic courtiers compelled to fly for their lives. **Jeffreys** was found lurking in an ale-house at **Wapping**, and was with some difficulty rescued from the hands of an infuriated mob, and conveyed by two regiments of militia to the Tower. William was entreated to hasten his march, as it was felt that only his presence could preserve order in the city. But he insisted that James should withdraw from Whitehall before he entered London. The crest-fallen King had not the courage to resist, and taking advantage of the means of escape, which were offered him, he again left London, and took ship to France, where he met with an honourable reception from Louis XIV.

On the flight of James, William entered London unopposed, and immediately convoked the House of Lords. By their advice, he issued writs in his own name summoning a Convention, and to this body was entrusted the business of settling the question of the government. As soon as the Convention met, it was found to be strongly Whig in character. It passed a resolution that King James,

“having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby vacant.” They then proceeded to deal with the question of the succession. Three alternatives were open to them :—

(1) To place the **Princess Mary on the Throne**. William would not agree to this arrangement. He said, that he had not come to England to be his wife’s servant and minister.

(2) To declare **William and Mary** as merely regents for the absent King. To this course William also objected, saying, that he would rather return to Holland than become a mere “locum-tenens” for his father-in-law.

(3) To offer the crown to **William and Mary as joint sovereigns** with equal rights, the executive part of the government being, with Mary’s consent, vested in William.

After much debating this plan was adopted. The Convention then passed the Declaration of Right, which William and Mary solemnly swore to observe, and they were declared King and Queen.

Thus the great crisis known as the “Glorious Revolution” was brought to a successful issue almost without bloodshed as far as England was concerned.

## 7. General character of the Revolution.

(1) It completely overthrew the Stuart theories of the **Divine Right of Kings** and **Passive Obedience**, and set up a King and a Queen, who owed their position entirely to the choice of Parliament.

(2) The bitter contests between the **King and Parliament**, which characterized the Stuart Period, were at an end. The struggle was now to be between two great political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, one of which had, or thought it had, the King for its head.

(3) Hitherto, the “will of the King” had been the power, which guided the policy of the nation, now it was to be the “*will of the Parliament*.” In other words, “*The Reign of Parliament*” had begun.

(4) The **Power of the Parliament** also was so greatly increased, that if the members did not approve of a minister, they compelled the King to dismiss him.



(5) It established on a firm basis many of the fundamental principles of the English Constitution, such as illegality of taxation without consent of Parliament, and the liberty of speech in Parliament—principles the Stuarts had so persistently laboured to set aside.

(6) It settled the revenue question, secured a proper expenditure of public money, and gave toleration to Dissenters.

(7) It destroyed the French supremacy over Europe, and raised England to her place among European powers.

NOTE.—The name "Revolution," which has been given to these changes, is not a good one: (a) "Only a small part of the political constitution of the country was changed, and no part whatever of its social institutions"; (b) The laws remained very much the same, but were put into force in a much more effective manner. The judges held their offices during good behaviour, and could only be removed upon an Address of both Houses.

### IMPORTANT EVENTS, WITH DATES.

#### THE TUDOR PERIOD.

Battle of Stoke ( <i>Nottinghamshire</i> ) . . . . .	1487	Henry VII.
Star Chamber established . . . . .	—	"
Columbus discovered the Bahamas . . . . .	1492	"
The Great Intercourse . . . . .	1496	"
Sebastian Cabot discovered Labrador . . . . .	1497	"
Execution of Earl of Warwick. . . . .	1499	"
Henry joins the Holy League against } France . . . . .	1511	Henry VIII.
Battle of Flodden Field ( <i>Northumberland</i> ) . . . . .	1513	"
Field of the Cloth of Gold . . . . .	1520	"
Fall of Wolsey . . . . .	1529	"
The Seven Years' Parliament meets . . . . .	—	"
Act passed restraining all appeals to Rome . . . . .	1533	"
Act passed forbidding payment of } Annates to Rome . . . . .	1534	"
Papal Authority abolished in England . . . . .	—	"
Henry takes the title of Supreme } Head of the Church of England . . . . .	1535	"
Pilgrimage of Grace . . . . .	1536	"
Dissolution of larger Monasteries . . . . .	1539	"
Act of the Six Articles passed . . . . .	—	"
Fall and Execution of Thomas Cromwell . . . . .	1540	"
Execution of the Earl of Surrey . . . . .	1547	"
Battle of Pinkie ( <i>Edinburgh</i> ) . . . . .	1547	Edward VI.
First Act of Uniformity . . . . .	1549	"

Execution of Somerset . . . . .	1552	Edward VI.
Second Act of Uniformity . . . . .	—	"

Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion . . . . .	1554	Mary
Cranmer burnt . . . . .	1556	"
Loss of Calais . . . . .	1558	"

Second Act of Supremacy passed . . . . .	1559	Elizabeth
Second Act of Uniformity passed . . . . .	—	"
Mary, Queen of Scots takes refuge in } England . . . . .	1568	"
Massacre of St. Bartholomew . . . . .	1572	"
Complete establishment of High Com- } mission Court . . . . .	1583	"
Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots . . . . .	1587	"
Defeat of Spanish Armada . . . . .	1588	"
Rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland . . . . .	1595	"
First Charter granted to the East India } Company . . . . .	1600	"
First Regular Poor Law passed . . . . .	1601	"

THE STUART PERIOD.

Main and Bye Plots . . . . .	1603	James I.
Hampton Court Conference . . . . .	1604	"
Gunpowder Plot . . . . .	1605	"
The Great Contract . . . . .	1610	"
The Addled Parliament . . . . .	1614	"
Thirty Years' War begins . . . . .	1618	"
Impeachment of Lord Bacon . . . . .	1621	"

First Parliament of Charles I. . . . .	1625	Charles I.
Second Parliament of Charles I. . . . .	1626	"
Third Parliament of Charles I. . . . .	1628	"
Petition of Right . . . . .	—	"
Eleven years of Arbitrary Government } begin . . . . .	1629	"
Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury	1633	"
Judgment given against Hampden in } the matter of ship-money . . . . .	1637	"
Fourth Parliament of Charles I. . . . .	1640	"
Fifth Parliament or Long Parliament } meets . . . . .	—	"
Triennial Act passed . . . . .	1641	"
Court of Star Chamber and High Com- } mission Court abolished . . . . .	—	"
The Grand Remonstrance . . . . .	—	"
First Civil War (Great Rebellion) begins	1642	"
Battle of Edgehill ( <i>Warwickshire</i> ) . . . . .	—	"
" Chalgrove Field ( <i>Oxfordshire</i> ) . . . . .	1643	"
First Battle of Newbury ( <i>Berkshire</i> ) . . . . .	—	"

Parliament signs the Solemn League and Covenant . . . . .	}	—	Charles I.
Battle of Marston Moor ( <i>Yorkshire</i> ) . . . . .		1644	"
Second Battle of Newbury . . . . .		—	"
Self-denying Ordinance . . . . .		1645	"
New Model Army formed . . . . .		—	"
Battle of Naseby ( <i>Northamptonshire</i> ) . . . . .		—	"
Second Civil War . . . . .		1648	"
Pride's Purge . . . . .		—	"
Trial and Execution of Charles I. . . . .		1649	"
Battle of Dunbar . . . . .		1650	The Commonwealth.
Battle of Worcester . . . . .		1651	"
First Dutch War . . . . .		1652-5	"
Expulsion of the Rump . . . . .		1653	"
Little or Barebone's Parliament . . . . .		—	"
Instrument of Government . . . . .		—	"
Humble Petition and Advice . . . . .		1657	"
Declaration of Breda . . . . .		1660	"
The Restoration . . . . .		—	"
Pension Parliament meets . . . . .		1661	Charles II.
Corporation Act . . . . .		—	"
Third Act of Uniformity . . . . .		1662	"
Conventicle Act . . . . .		1664	"
Great Plague of London . . . . .		1665	"
Five-Mile Act . . . . .		1665	"
Second Dutch War . . . . .		1665-67	"
Great Fire of London . . . . .		1666	"
Cabal Ministry is formed . . . . .		1667	"
Triple Alliance . . . . .		1668	"
Coventry Act . . . . .		1671	"
First Declaration of Indulgence is proclaimed . . . . .	}	1672	"
Third Dutch War . . . . .		1672-74	"
Test Act is passed . . . . .		1673	"
Titus Oates' Plot . . . . .		1678	"
Habeas Corpus Act is passed . . . . .		1679	"
Rye House Plot . . . . .		1683	"
Rebellion of Argyll and Monmouth . . . . .		1685	James II.
Bloody Assize . . . . .		—	"
Second Declaration of Indulgence . . . . .		1688	"
Trial of the Seven Bishops . . . . .		—	"
The Revolution . . . . .		1689	"
William and Mary accept the Decla- ration of Right . . . . .	}	—	"

# GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSES OF TUDOR AND STUART.

## YORKIST LINE.

**Edward III.** (1327).

Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

Philippa, mar. Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March.

Roger Mortimer, 4th Earl of March, declared heir apparent by Richard II.

Anne Mortimer, mar. Richard, Earl of Cambridge. (*See Lancastrian Line.*)

Richard, Duke of York, killed at Wakefield, 1460.

**Edward IV.** (1461),  
mar. Elizabeth Woodville.

George,  
D. of Clarence,  
mar.  
Isabel Neville,  
executed for  
treason.

**Richard III.**  
(1483),  
mar.  
Anne  
Neville.

Elizabeth,  
mar.  
John de la Pole, Charles the Bold,  
D. of Suffolk. D. of Burgundy.

**Edward V.**  
(1453),  
murdered.

Richard,  
D. of York,  
murdered.

Elizabeth  
of York,  
mar.

**Henry VII.**

Catherine,  
mar.  
Sir W.  
Courtenay.

Edward,  
Earl of  
Warwick,  
beheaded by  
Henry VII.,  
1499.

Margaret,  
Countess of  
Salisbury,  
beheaded  
1541.

John de la  
Pole,  
killed at  
Stoke.

Edmund,  
Earl of  
Suffolk,  
beheaded by  
Henry VIII.,  
1513.

Richard,  
mar.  
Margaret,  
Countess  
of  
Salisbury

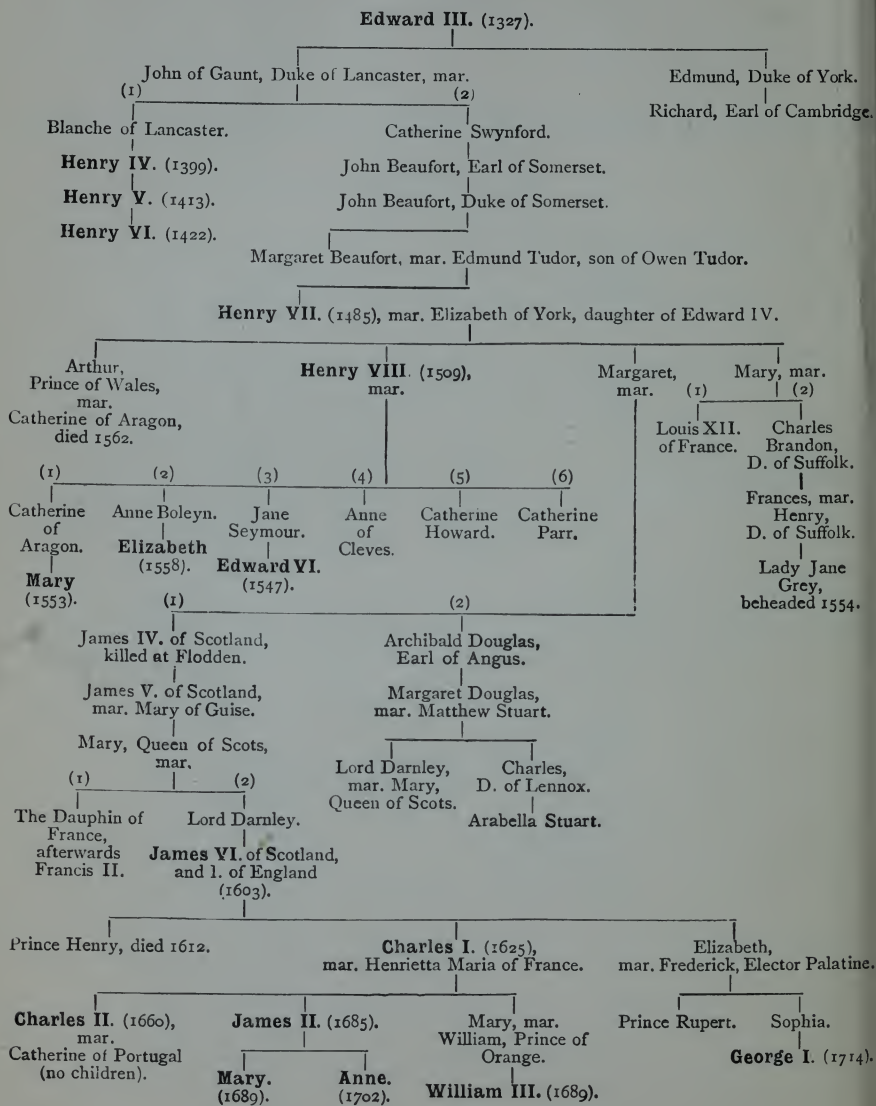
Henry Courtenay,  
Marquis of Exeter,  
beheaded by  
Henry VIII., 1538.  
|  
Edward Courtenay,  
proposed  
as husband for  
Queen Elizabeth,  
died at Padua.

Henry Pole,  
Lord Montague,  
beheaded by  
Henry VIII.,  
1539.

Reginald Pole,  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury  
and Cardinal,  
died 1558.

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSES OF TUDOR AND STUART

## LANCASTRIAN LINE.

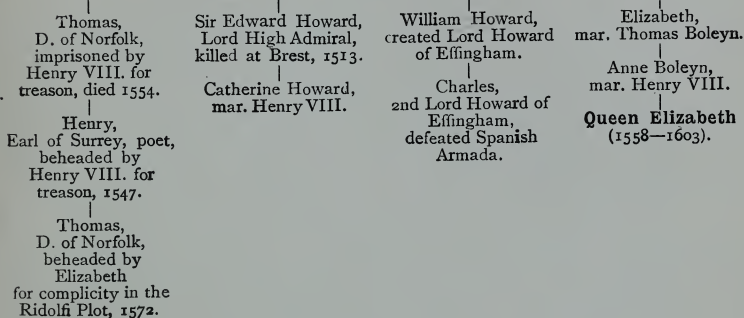




GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOWARD FAMILY.

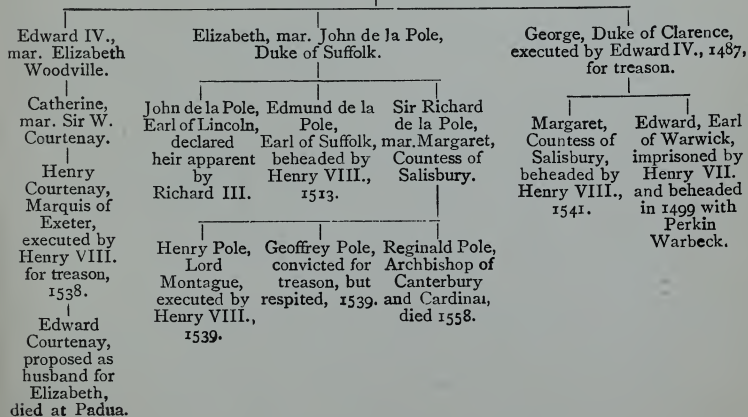
John Howard, created Duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth, 1485.

Thomas, Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, victor of Flodden, died 1524.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE POLE AND COURTENAY FAMILIES.

Richard, Duke of York, killed at Wakefield, 1460.



## CHIEF STAGES IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT.

### I. In the Reign of James I.

- (1) **First Parliament.** James had frequent quarrels with his First Parliament, in the course of which, Parliament vindicated its right to control its own elections, and also the right of its members to freedom of arrest. It also remonstrated against the "Impositions," the arbitrary proceedings of the High Commission Court, and the authority of Royal Proclamations.
- (2) **Second Parliament,** sometimes called the "*Addled Parliament.*" James's relations with his Second Parliament were of a no more friendly nature than those with his First. It refused to grant a supply till it had dealt with the King's impositions of customs, and James in anger dissolved it.
- (3) **Third Parliament** proceeded to attack the abuse of monopolies, and impeached **Sir Giles Mompesson**, and **Lord Bacon** for holding monopolies. They also made a protest to the effect "that their liberties and privileges were the undoubted birthright of Englishmen, and that they had a right to freedom of debate on all matters concerning Parliamentary business." James was so enraged that he tore the "*protest*" out of the Parliamentary Journal with his own hand. Parliament was dissolved, and several members were imprisoned.
- (4) **Fourth Parliament.** Continual quarrels arose on the King's foreign policy. The Commons declared that monopolies were illegal.

### II. In the Reign of Charles I.

- (1) **First Parliament.** The Commons complained bitterly of Charles's foreign policy, his leniency towards Roman Catholics, and of Buckingham's bad government. Charles dissolves Parliament to save his favourite from a formal attack.
- (2) **Second Parliament.** Charles rouses the indignation of the Commons by marking off some of the more out-spoken members of the last Parliament to serve as sheriffs, and so preventing them from sitting in the House. He also foolishly attempts to keep the Earl of Bristol, Buckingham's personal enemy, out of the House of Lords.

Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Eliot impeach Buckingham, and are sent to the Tower. Charles dissolves Parliament, affirming that "*he would allow the Commons freedom to offer counsel, but no liberty of controlling his government.*"

- (3) **Third Parliament.** Wentworth and Pym draw up and pass the famous **Petition of Right**, abolishing the abuses under which the country was then labouring. Charles, after some hesitation, gives his consent to it. Parliament is prorogued. When Parliament re-assembled, the Speaker, acting under the King's order, refuses to read Sir John Eliot's resolutions against tonnage and poundage, and religion. He is, however, forcibly held down in the chair while Holles reads the resolutions. Parliament is dissolved. Eliot and others are committed to the Tower.
- (4) **The Period of Arbitrary Rule (1629-1640).** For eleven years Charles ruled without a Parliament, and was fairly successful, until his rigorous Church policy raised a resistance in Scotland, which he was unable to put down without a grant of money from the English Parliament. In his difficulty he was compelled to summon his Fourth Parliament.
- (5) **Fourth, or Short Parliament.** Pym recites all the illegal acts of Charles during the period of his arbitrary rule. Charles offers to give up ship-money in return for twelve subsidies, but as the Commons seemed likely to refuse, Charles dissolves Parliament.

Charles then summoned a **Great Council** at York, but its members recognizing the fact that *they were not the legal representatives of the nation were afraid to act apart from the Commons*, and so they advised Charles to summon another Parliament, which advice he followed.

- (6) **Fifth, or Long Parliament (1640-1660).** The Commons meet in a very determined mood. Charles makes concession after concession, only to find that there was no limit to their demands. He gives his sanction to the Triennial Bill, the Bill which enacted that Parliament should not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent, the Attainder and execution of Strafford, the statutes abolishing the Court of Star Chamber, High Commission

Court, Ship-money, illegal customs, and the Grand Remonstrance. But he rejected the Nineteen Propositions sent to him by Parliament, which would have taken from him every scrap of power, and as there seemed to be no other way of settling the vital question, whether the King, or the Parliament, was to have the real mastery of public affairs, both parties resolved to appeal to the sword.

- (7) The **Civil War**. The Civil War lasted four years (1642-1646), and ended in a total defeat of the Royalist forces, and the flight of the King to the Scots.
- (8) For nearly three years (1646-1649) Charles remained in captivity, during which time he was the active centre of intrigues between the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Independents, which ended in the **Second Civil War** of 1648, and finally in his **Trial and Execution**, 1649.

### III. The Commonwealth.

The Period of the Commonwealth is marked by the abortive attempts made by the Parliament *to rule without a king*, answering to the attempts which Charles had made *to rule without a Parliament*.

- (1) The **Rump Parliament** (1649-1653) was successful in crushing its opponents in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Holland, but was ultimately overthrown by its own army.
- (2) The **Barebone's Parliament**, or more properly, **Assembly of Nominees**, lasted only five months, when it resigned its power into the hands of Cromwell.
- (3) The **Three Parliaments of Cromwell** all ended in absolute failures.
- (4) The **Year of Anarchy** (1659-1660) was marked by renewed quarrels between the Parliament and the Army, and was brought to a close by **Monk**, who restored the exiled Charles II. to the throne.

## CONSPECTUS OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

R = Royalist; P = Parliamentary; C = Covenanter.

1642. **First Campaign.** Charles occupies Oxford, and sets up his standard at Nottingham.

(1) His plan was to *push forward towards London before the Parliamentary forces were ready*. To bar his approach, Essex places garrisons in a line of towns stretching from Northampton to Worcester.

The operations of the campaign are confined to the districts between Oxford and London.

(2) **Edgehill.** Charles encounters Essex (P), battle *indecisive*. Charles marches through Oxford and Reading towards London, Essex retreats to Warwick, and thence to London.

(3) **Skirmish at Brentford.** Rupert scatters the Parliamentary army under Essex. The trained-bands of London collect at Turnham Green to oppose the advance of the King. Charles does not venture to attack them, and retreats to Oxford, and henceforth makes that city his headquarters.

1643. **Second Campaign.** Charles's plan was (a) that Newcastle's army should press along the Eastern Coast into Essex; (b) that Hopton's forces should advance along the Southern Coast into Kent; (c) and that he himself should strike at London. *The plan was in the main defeated by Newcastle refusing to leave the North before Hull was reduced.*

The operations of the campaign are chiefly confined to three districts:—

*The North and East.*

- (1) **Adwalton Moor;** Newcastle (R) defeats Fairfax (P).
- (2) **Gainsborough;** Cromwell (P) and his army of the Eastern counties defeat Newcastle (R).
- (3) Newcastle besieges Hull, but finally is compelled to raise the siege.
- (4) **Winceby Fight;** Cromwell (P) defeats Royalists.

*The Midlands.*

- (1) **Chalgrove Field;** Rupert (R) defeats Hampden (P), who is mortally wounded.
- (2) **Siege of Gloucester;** Charles lays siege to Gloucester since that city cut off all communication between Oxford and the south and west. Essex and his trained-bands of Londoners march to relieve it. Charles is afraid to risk a battle in his lines, and so he raises the siege, and Essex enters the city unopposed.
- (3) **First Newbury;** Charles determines to intercept Essex on his return march to London, and meets him at Newbury. *Battle indecisive.*

*The South and West.*

- (1) **Stratton;** Hopton (R) defeats Stamford (P).
- (2) **Lansdown;** Hopton (R) defeats Waller (P).
- (3) **Roundway Down;** Hopton (R) again defeats Waller (P).
- (4) **Bristol** stormed by Rupert (R).
- (5) **Siege of Plymouth** by Royalists.

NOTE.—The Campaign of 1643 proved that the two sides were pretty evenly balanced, and so it became necessary for each party to look about for outside help. Accordingly,

(1) The King sought the aid of the Roman Catholic Irish in a treaty called the Cessation.

(2) The Parliament sought the aid of the Scots in a treaty called the Solemn League and Covenant. This alliance between the Parliament and the Scots was Pym's last work; he died December 8th, 1643.



1644. **Third Campaign.** The Scottish army, 20,000 strong, crosses the Border. *Charles's plan is to act on the defensive.*

The operations of the campaign are restricted to :—

*The North and East.*

- (1) **Nantwich; Fairfax(P)** defeats Byron (R), and his Irish Contingent; more than half of the prisoners take service under the conqueror.
- (2) **Siege of York; Fairfax (P)**, being joined by the Scottish army, drives Newcastle (R) into York and besieges that city.
- (3) **Marston Moor; Prince Rupert (R)** advances from Oxford to relieve York. He compels Fairfax and Cromwell to raise the siege and encounters the combined Scottish and Parliamentary armies on Marston Moor, where he is utterly defeated. *This was the first really decisive battle of the war.*

*The Midlands.*

- (1) **Siege of Oxford,** Essex and Waller (P) unite and threaten Oxford, Charles fearing to risk a siege retreats to Worcester.
- (2) **Cropley Bridge;** Charles defeats Waller (P) and then pursues Essex into Cornwall.

*The South and West.*

- (1) **Cheriton; Waller (P)** defeats Hopton (R).
- (2) Charles having out-generalled Essex in the West, compels the whole of his infantry to surrender at **Lostwithiel**. Essex escapes by sea to Plymouth, and thence to London.

NOTE.—In Scotland Montrose (R) defeated Lord Elcho (C) at **Tippermuir**, and Balfour (C) at **Aberdeen**.

Meanwhile, Essex having collected a fresh army, and being joined by Manchester and Cromwell, attempts to cut off Charles in his return march to Oxford. Charles encounters the Parliamentary army at the **Second Battle of Newbury**, where, owing to the inertness of Manchester, Charles is allowed to secure his retreat to Oxford.

1645. **Fourth Campaign.**

(1) Cromwell accuses Manchester in the House of *having wilfully attempted to render the war indecisive*. The Independents bring in and pass the **Self-Denying Ordinance**.

(2) The **New Model Army** is formed at Windsor, and put under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax with Cromwell second in command.

(3) Charles's plan is to *keep up a connection with Scotland*.

The operations of the campaign are chiefly confined to :—

*Scotland.*

- (1) **Inverlochy; Montrose (R)** gains a victory over Argyll (C).
- (2) **Auldearn; Montrose** defeats Covenanters.
- (3) **Alford and Kilsyth;** Montrose defeats Baillie (C).
- (4) **Philiphaugh; Montrose** is utterly defeated by David Leslie (C).

*The Midlands.*

- (1) **Naseby; Fairfax and Cromwell** totally defeat Charles.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) **Rowton Heath;** Charles marches northwards hoping to join Montrose, but is again defeated at Rowton Heath.
- (3) **Basing House** is stormed by Cromwell.

*The South-West.*

- (1) **Taunton** is relieved by Parliamentary forces.
- (2) **Langport; Fairfax** defeats Goring and the army of the West.
- (3) **Bristol** is surrendered by Prince Rupert.

1646. **The End of the War.**

(1) Astley (R) surrenders his forces at **Stow-on-the-Wold**.

(2) Oxford capitulates, and Charles betakes himself to the Scottish army at Newark.

(3) The surrender of Raglan and Harlech Castles marks the close of the war.

## SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

### HENRY VII.

**Morton, John** (1410-1500), studied at Balliol College, Oxford, and was made Bishop of Ely and Chancellor by Edward IV. He was no friend to Richard III., and entered into a conspiracy with the Duke of Buckingham and other nobles, known as the "Morton Conspiracy," to overthrow that monarch. It was arranged that Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, should invade England and dethrone Richard, and having married Elizabeth of York ascend the throne. The scheme was well planned but proved unsuccessful. A violent gale dispersed Henry's fleet, and an unusually high rising of the waters of the Severn prevented Buckingham and his forces from crossing over into England from Wales. Baffled in their attempt, the leaders took refuge in disguise and flight. Morton had the good fortune to escape to Flanders. Buckingham was betrayed by one of his servants, and perished on the scaffold. When Henry VII. ascended the throne, Morton became one of his chief advisers, and on the death of Bourchier was advanced to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Morton was a wise and enlightened prelate, of great experience, and wholly devoted to his royal master's cause. He is best known in connection with his device for extorting money from the people known as "Morton's fork" (see page 17), and much of the popular odium of Henry's financial measures rests on him.

**Stanley, Sir William**, was the brother of Lord Stanley, who deserted Richard III. at the Battle of Bosworth. Henry VII. made him Lord Chamberlain, but Stanley was not satisfied. He became in some way implicated with Perkin Warbeck's imposture, and on the evidence of one of the King's spies, Sir Robert Clifford, he was suddenly arrested on a charge of high treason. Henry was resolved to make a terrible example of Stanley as a warning to the other disaffected nobles. After the mere semblance of a trial, he was condemned and executed. *The whole of his immense wealth was confiscated to the Crown.*

**Poynings, Sir Edward**, was a very able and trustworthy man, who had been a companion of Henry VII. during his exile. Henry made him Lord-Deputy of Ireland, where he was most successful in subduing the partizans of the House of York, and in quelling the native Irish rebels in Ulster. His period of government in

Ireland is specially noted in connection with his passing his celebrated Act called the Statute of Drogheda (see page 15), which aimed chiefly at *controlling the powerful English settlers*. Poynings died in 1512.

**Fox, Richard**, Bishop of Winchester, was born at Grantham, and by the influence of Archbishop Morton became Bishop of Exeter, Durham and Winchester in succession. He was a painstaking, energetic and able ecclesiastic, and held an influential position as a minister and diplomatist under Henry VIII. until he was eclipsed by the great Wolsey. He was a warm supporter of the New Learning, and the Founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He died in 1528.

**Lovell, Lord**, was one of Richard III.'s chief favourites and advisers. He fought in the Battle of Bosworth, and supported the claim of Lambert Simnel to the throne. He was present at the Battle of Stoke, and after the defeat of the insurgents swam the Trent and escaped. Many years afterwards the skeleton of a man was discovered in a secret chamber at Minster Lovell, near Oxford, seated in a chair with his head resting upon a table. Probably Lovell had fled to his house after the battle, and died there of his wounds or of starvation.

**Simnel, Lambert**, was one of the leaders of the rebellions against Henry VII. He is said to have been the son of a joiner at Oxford, and figured as Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of the murdered Duke of Clarence. He was trained to play his part by Richard Simon, a priest. He made his first appearance in Ireland, where the House of York was known to be popular, and was graciously received by Thomas Fitzgerald, the Lord-Deputy. In England, John de la Pole was his chief supporter, while in Flanders, Margaret of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV., espoused his cause, and opened her court as a rendezvous for the conspirators. Thither de la Pole retired, and having received from the Duchess a body of troops, under the command of a skilful general, Martin Schwartz, set sail for Ireland.

Meanwhile Henry VII. was not inactive. He raised an army, and to show the baseless nature of the conspiracy ordered the real Earl of Warwick to be paraded through the principal streets of London. Simnel was crowned in Dublin as Edward VI. with all the dignity befitting a king. The rebels then determined to make a descent upon England. They landed in Lancashire, and pushed their way towards the East, but very few joined their standard. Henry met the insurgent force near a village called Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, where a desperate battle was fought. For three hours the battle raged before victory inclined to either side. Finally the rebels were routed, and nearly all their leaders perished. Simnel was spared, but he was contemptuously employed as turnspit in the royal kitchen. Subsequently he was promoted to the office of falconer.

**Warbeck, Perkin**, was one of the most remarkable impostors in the world's history. Supported by the Yorkists, he appeared in the

reign of Henry VII., giving himself out to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two princes, who were supposed to have been murdered in the Tower by the order of their cruel uncle, Richard III., and as such, the rightful heir to the throne. The writers of the Tudor age, however, maintain that he was a native of Tournay. In 1492 Warbeck landed in Cork, where he was well received. Charles VIII. of France, who was at war with Henry, invited him to his court, and treated him with the dignity due to his royal birth and position. But the conclusion of the Treaty of Etaples between Henry and Charles made it compulsory that Warbeck should leave the French king's dominions. He was, however, received most cordially by Margaret of Burgundy, Henry's long established enemy. Margaret was so struck with his dignified manner and his resemblance to the Yorkist family that she honoured him with the title of "*White Rose of England*," and gave him a body-guard. The encouragement given by Margaret to the impostor was the signal for the beginning of a vast system of conspiracy among the nobles in England to dethrone Henry. By means of spies, however, Henry was enabled to convict Sir William Stanley, Lord Fitzwalter and Sir Simon Montfort of high treason, and they were all sent to the block. After a futile attempt to attack England on the coast of Kent, Warbeck withdrew to Flanders, but a commercial treaty, called the *Magnus Intercursus*, concluded between Henry and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, caused his removal from that country. After this his fortune looked brighter for a time. James IV. of Scotland received him as the lawful king of England, and gave him in marriage his own kinswoman, Lady Catherine Gordon. He further testified his belief in his pretensions by invading England in his behalf, but the people rose against the Scots and the Scottish king was compelled to withdraw his army. The conclusion of a Treaty between Henry and James induced the latter to abandon the impostor's cause, and once more Warbeck was left unsupported.

The unsettled state of Cornwall, owing to the heavy taxation, led him again to invade England. He landed at Whitsand Bay, near Penzance, seized St. Michael's Mount and marched against Exeter. The failure of his attacks on that city, and the approach of the royal forces under Lord Daubeney, caused Warbeck to lose heart, and he secretly withdrew to Beaulieu in Hampshire. Here he surrendered himself a prisoner on condition that his life should be spared. He was then conveyed to London, where he made a full confession in public of his imposture. He was placed in the Tower, and while there he formed the acquaintance of the young Earl of Warwick. Shortly after he was executed together with his fellow prisoner, on a charge of having tried to escape, and of having attempted to seize the Tower (1499).

John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, was the son of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. The attainder of the Duke of Clarence, and the supposed illegitimacy of Edward IV.'s children, raised the Earl's hopes of his eventually becoming King of England, and



Richard III. went so far as to recognize him as his lawful successor. The accession of Henry VII., however, took away all chance of his hopes being realized, when suddenly the appearance of the impostor, Simnel, filled him with further ambitious designs. He abruptly left Henry's court and crossed over to Flanders, and was well received by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, who gave him a body of soldiers under the command of Martin Schwartz, a veteran captain. With these he set sail to Dublin, where he met with so enthusiastic a reception that he was encouraged to transport his soldiers to England, but was received with perfect indifference by the English people. He, however, rapidly pushed on his troops in the direction of Newark, and came upon the royal army at Stoke, where a bloody and obstinate battle was fought, in which his forces were defeated, and he himself killed (1489).

Richard Empson and Robert Dudley were two of the most notorious agents of Henry VII., employed by him in extorting money from the people. Empson was the son of a sieve-maker, and Dudley's father was a Warwickshire squire. They based most of their extortions upon a revival of obsolete statutes. They were both naturally very unpopular, and to use Bacon's words, "*were men, who people esteemed as Henry VII.'s horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist.*" On the death of Henry VII., his son Henry VIII. found an easy way to appease the indignation of the people and ensure popularity by surrendering these two agents up to the popular fury. They were arrested, and, although it was no easy matter to find a legal charge against them "since their acts had come within the letter of the law and the limits of their commissions," the charge of treason was brought against them and they were executed (1510).

Cabot, John, was a Venetian merchant, who settled in Bristol. In 1497, he obtained a patent from Henry VII. for the discovery of unknown lands, and set sail with his son Sebastian to discover the North-West Passage to India. In the course of his voyage, Cabot discovered Labrador and Nova Scotia, and to him belongs the honour of *being the first European, who reached the mainland of North America* (1497).

Columbus, Christopher (1447-1506), was a native of Genoa, and from his earliest years showed an irresistible inclination for a sea-faring life. He conceived the idea of reaching India by sailing westward, and after seven long years of alternate disappointment and repulse, induced Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, to equip three small vessels for a voyage of discovery in the far West. He set sail from the town of Palos, on August 3rd, 1492, and after a voyage of two months, during which he had the greatest difficulty in keeping up the courage and patience of a mutinous crew, sighted land, now believed to be Watling Island, one of the Bahamas. On his return to Europe, he was received with almost regal honours. Subsequently, he made a second voyage



and sighted Dominica, but was compelled to return home through illness. His third voyage resulted in the discovery of the mainland of America. In 1500 he was disgraced by the newly-appointed royal governor, and sent home in irons. He bore this outrage with equanimity, and although he was partially restored to his former place of dignity, he never received the full reward of his services. Two years after, he sank under the sense of the ingratitude he had experienced, and died in comparative poverty at Valladolid.

## HENRY VIII.

### STATESMEN.

Wolsey, Thomas (1471-1530), is the most prominent figure in the reign of Henry VIII. He was the son of a wealthy citizen of Ipswich, and was educated at Oxford, and became Fellow of Magdalen College. Under the patronage of Bishop Fox he was introduced to the notice of Henry VII., who employed him on several important diplomatic services at the courts of Germany and Scotland, and as a reward for his services, conferred on him the Deanery of Lincoln.

The versatility of his attainments attracted the notice of Henry VIII., and under that monarch's patronage his advancement was rapid and brilliant. He displayed so much energy and ability in the war with France, that Henry appointed him to the See of Tournay, and shortly after to the Bishopric of Lincoln. In the same year he was translated to the Archbishopric of York, and on the resignation of Warham he became Chancellor. To crown all, in 1515 the Pope made him Cardinal, and for the next sixteen years his power was supreme both in Church and State, in fact no minister of the crown had ever been so powerful.

Wolsey's foreign policy was to hold the balance of power between Charles V. of Germany and Francis I. of France, and to recover for England that place among the nations of Europe, which she had lost since the Wars of the Roses. His home policy was to secure for the king absolute power in the State, and reform some of the more crying abuses in the Church. In his zeal to accomplish this latter task he was induced to hazard a breach of the Statute of *Præmunire* by accepting the appointment of Papal Legate from Leo X. He suppressed several of the smaller monasteries and devoted the funds to the establishment of Cardinal's College (now Christchurch) at Oxford, and of a Grammar School in his native town.

Wolsey's fall was as sudden as his rise had been rapid. His indecision in the matter of the Divorce lost him Henry's confidence, and his enemies, who were many and powerful, instigated by Anne Boleyn, took advantage of his misfortune to crush him altogether. He was indicted under the Statute of

Præmunire and deprived of the Great Seal; all his property was confiscated, but he was allowed to withdraw to his diocese of York. Here he acquired so great a degree of popularity by his courtesy and hospitality that the jealousy of his old enemies was roused, and he was arrested on a charge of high treason. This last blow seems to have completely broken his health, and he was on his way to London to answer the charge, when he was seized by a violent attack of dysentery and died at Leicester Abbey. He was buried within the Abbey precincts, but no monument marks the spot of his last resting-place.

Wolsey had many faults, and was hated by all classes for his arrogance and ostentatious bearing, but he was one of the most able statesmen of his time, and much of the glory of the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign redounds to the honour of his minister. *He was the last of the great ecclesiastics, who have ruled England.*

**More, Sir Thomas** (1480-1535), was the son of Sir John More, a judge of the King's Bench. At the age of fourteen he entered the household of Cardinal Morton, who sent him to Oxford. He completed his legal studies at Lincoln's Inn and entered Parliament. Wolsey introduced him to the notice of Henry VIII., and on the fall of the great statesman he unwillingly became Lord Chancellor. Although he sided with the party who wished for Church Reform, yet he saw with displeasure the various steps which Henry had taken in his breach with Rome. He resigned the Chancellorship, and steadfastly refused to accept the Act of Succession. Henry was determined that neither rank nor dignity should be any protection for those who resisted his authority, and so Sir Thomas was deprived of the Seal of Office, and thrown into the Tower. As a test of his loyalty, Henry then insisted that he should recognize him as "Supreme Head of the Church." This More resolutely refused to do, and so he was condemned to death and executed.

Even on the scaffold his ready wit and serene dignity never left him. He was not allowed to address the people, and so he asked for their prayers and their witness that "*he died in the faith of the holy Catholic Church and a servant of God and the King.*" After he had prayed, the executioner begged his forgiveness. "Friend," said More, kissing him, "thou art to me the greatest benefit that I can receive. Pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thine office." As he laid his head upon the block, he moved aside his beard, remarking, "Pity that should be cut, that has not committed treason." And thus he died.

More is best remembered as the author of "*Utopia*," published in Latin, and one of the most remarkable political romances in this or any other language. The book consists of two parts: the first gives a vivid picture of all the evils both social and political, which oppressed England at the time, and suggests effective remedies for their removal; the second part pictures an ideal commonwealth, in which the existing evils had no place whatever. Everything was to be done to the best advantage of the State; there were to be no aggressive wars, no religious persecutions, and no violence;

no crime, idleness, or overwork, no eager striving for place and power, no glaring contrasts of wealth and poverty, no taverns, no changing fashions, no finery, no lawyers, no hunting (for that was only fit for butchers); everything was to be harmonious, happy and contented.

**Cromwell, Thomas.** This remarkable man is said to have been the son of a well-to-do fuller at Putney. He was brought up as an attorney and an accountant, but for some misconduct left England and served as a common soldier in the wars in Italy. After this he acted as a clerk at Antwerp and amassed a considerable amount of money as a wool merchant at Middleburgh in Zealand.

On his return to England he rose to wealth and influence as a scrivener, lending money to the impoverished nobles of Henry VIII.'s extravagant court. His capacity for business attracted the notice of Wolsey, who made him his legal agent and secretary. In 1523 he got into Parliament, probably through his patron's influence. He showed great energy in the unpopular work of suppressing some of the smaller monasteries, the revenues of which were devoted to the endowment of the Colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. He cleverly used his fidelity to his fallen master as a means of his own advancement, and soon transferred his services to the King, who gave him his entire confidence. He counselled Henry to overcome the difficulty of the Divorce by deciding the matter in his own ecclesiastical courts. This advice Henry determined to follow, and Cromwell became a member of the Privy Council, Secretary of State, and Henry's chief minister.

Cromwell's aims were to abolish the Papal supremacy in England, break the power of the Church and make the King absolute. How effectively he carried out these aims is seen from the fact that under his rule England was severed from Rome, the power of the Church passed into the hands of the King, and Henry became a greater despot than any English king had been since the time of the Magna Charta. In 1536 and 1539 under the title of Vicar-General he suppressed the monasteries, which were recognized as the "strongholds" of the Papal power. He treated the bishops as mere officials, and determined for the clergy what doctrines they were to preach and what they were not to preach. His spies flooded the land, and those who spoke ill of the government or of the King's ministers were brought to trial on the charge of treason, and severely punished.

But a re-action soon came. The violence of the advanced Protestant party roused the public spirit, and even Henry, who had been unconsciously, perhaps, drifting towards the religious opinions of the Protestants, suddenly stopped and passed the Act of the Six Articles. The passing of this Act marks a waning in Cromwell's influence with the King. *But it was the failure of Cromwell's foreign policy which proved his ruin.* To strengthen the Protestant cause he induced Henry to make an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany by marrying Anne, the sister of the Duke of Cleves, one of the most influential of the German

Protestant princes. But Anne was so utterly void of grace and beauty, that as soon as Henry saw her, he took a violent dislike to her, and divorced her. As in the case of Wolsey, he let fall the full force of his anger on his faithful minister the moment his policy failed, and handed him over to his infuriated enemies. Cromwell was arrested at the Council-board on a charge of high treason and thrown into the Tower. A Bill of Attainder was hurriedly passed through a subservient Parliament and he was executed.

Cromwell was unscrupulous, crafty and insidious, and of a firm and resolute will. *As a statesman his career is marked by the determination with which he carried out a well-defined policy.* He made many enemies, and when he was deserted by the king, he had not a single friend to support him. He was undoubtedly a very able man, and the first of the long line of lay statesmen, who have ruled England.

### MILITARY COMMANDERS.

**Howard, Thomas**, second Duke of Norfolk, was the son of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who was killed at Bosworth. When Earl of Surrey, he gained distinction as a military commander by defeating the Scots at the famous battle of Flodden. He died in 1524.

### OTHER NAMES OF NOTE.

**Howard, Thomas**, third Duke of Norfolk, son of the second Duke of Norfolk, was the leader of the old nobility, who opposed Wolsey in the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign. In 1537 he was sent by Henry VIII. to quell the rebellion of the **Pilgrimage of Grace**. After the dissolution of the monasteries he became the leader of the re-actionary party, who were opposed to the advanced Reformers, and used his influence in obtaining the passing of the **Act of the Six Articles**.

But as Henry drew near his end, he was most anxious that after his death the power should not pass into the hands of Norfolk, who, being a man of strong views, might undo much of the work that he had done. He therefore appointed the Earl of Hertford as Regent. Norfolk, however, was not disposed to see the power wrenched from his hands without a struggle, and so his son, the Earl of Surrey, a man of rash and violent temper, assumed a change in his coat of arms, which signified a close connection with Royalty. To a jealous mind like that of Henry, this appeared nothing less than an act of treason, and both father and son were suddenly arrested. Surrey was tried by jury and beheaded on the 19th of January; his father was to have shared the same fate on the 28th, and was only saved by the death of the king. Norfolk died in 1554.



**Fisher, John**, Bishop of Rochester, was educated at Cambridge, where he became the friend and patron of the New Learning. He was a man of great piety, honesty and determination, and took a leading part in the opposition against Henry's divorce. He gave credence to the "*ravings*" of the Maid of Kent, and was summoned before the Privy Council, but released with a fine. On refusing to accept the Act of Succession he was sent to the Tower, where he remained till his execution. No doubt his fate was hastened by the rash kindness of Pope Paul III., who, moved by the sufferings of so faithful an adherent of the Church, made him a Cardinal. Stung by this act of defiance, Henry vowed that "*he might have the Cardinal's hat, but he should have no head to wear it on.*" He was tried by a jury and condemned to death for having openly declared that "the King is not Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England." He suffered on Tower Hill, January 22nd, 1535.

**Tyndale, William**, the well-known translator of the New Testament was a student both at Oxford and Cambridge. His English translation of the New Testament appeared in 1525, and although it was denounced by Tunstall, and Warham, and hundreds of copies of it burnt, it was privately circulated in England and eagerly read by thousands. In 1535 he was seized at the instigation of Henry VIII. and burnt at Augsburg, by order of Charles V.

**Coverdale, Miles**, was one of the earliest English Reformers. In 1535, under Cromwell's sanction, he completed his English translation of the Bible, and in 1539 brought out the Great Bible, copies of which were placed by royal order in churches. On the accession of Edward VI., he became chaplain to the king and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, but was deprived of his see and imprisoned by Mary. Subsequently he was released and withdrew to Geneva. After the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, but was not re-instated in his see owing to his Calvinistic views. He continued to preach till his death, which happened in 1568.

**Aske, Robert**, was a Yorkshire gentleman of good family, and the chief organizer of the famous rebellion in Henry VIII.'s reign, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536. Incited by the rising, which had recently broken out in Lincolnshire, Aske succeeded in organizing a very formidable rebellion in Yorkshire, which, in a very short space of time spread over the whole of the country north of the Humber, and threatened the overthrow of Henry's government. All the greater nobles of the North joined him, including Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Lord Darcy, an experienced soldier, and Sir John Constable. Headed by a banner on which was depicted the "*Five Wounds of Christ*," the insurgents marched to Doncaster, demanding that the monasteries should be restored, the villein blood removed from the Privy Council, and the heretic bishops deprived of their sees and punished. The Duke of Norfolk was sent against them, but his



force was so small that he dared not risk a battle, and so he resolved to temporize with the rebels. Aske, who seems to have been actuated by truly noble and patriotic motives, and wished to avoid bloodshed, consented to treat with the Duke. It was agreed that if the rebels should return peaceably to their homes, the King would grant a general pardon, and call a Parliament at York to consider their grievances. In the following year, however, fresh disturbances broke out in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Henry, making this a pretext for the non-fulfilment of his promises, caused Aske and the other leaders to be arrested. They were all condemned and executed; Aske had the distinction of being hanged in chains on one of the towers of York.

Of all the leaders in this formidable rebellion, Aske is by far the most interesting. His widely extended influence and popularity, his powers of organization, and his extreme moderation, render him a very remarkable character.

Luther, Martin, the great German Reformer, was born in Saxony. At the age of twenty-one he became an Augustine friar, and resolved to lead a spiritual life and devote himself to the study of the Scriptures. Gradually he became convinced of the many errors which had crept into the Roman Catholic Church, and when Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was appointed to sell "Indulgences" to raise money for the completion of St. Peter's at Rome, Luther loudly protested against the practice. He drew up his ninety-five theses on "Indulgences," denying to the Pope the right to forgive sins, and fixed them on the great door of the Church at Wittenberg. In 1520, Luther published his treatise, entitled "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church," attacking the doctrines of the Church of Rome. This led to his excommunication by Leo X. Luther set the Pope at defiance by publicly burning the papal bull containing his excommunication, before the gate of Wittenburg Castle. Being summoned to appear before the Emperor at the Diet of Worms, he ably defended himself, but the Elector of Saxony was apprehensive for his safety, and took him under his protection. Luther's opinions spread rapidly throughout Germany, and thousands of persons joined the ranks of the Reformer. He died in 1546, and was buried in Wittenberg.

## EDWARD VI.

Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset, was the brother of Jane Seymour, one of the wives of Henry VIII. On the marriage of his sister with that monarch, he rose to some importance in the State, and was constantly employed on military and diplomatic services. In 1537, he was created Earl of Hertford. In the Scottish War of 1554 he captured Edinburgh and Leith. He became one of the leaders of the "Reforming Party," and succeeded in overthrowing his opponents, the Duke of Norfolk, and his son, the Earl of

Surrey. He was one of the "Council of Sixteen," appointed by Henry VIII. to carry out his last wishes with regard to the succession. But as soon as Henry was dead, the will was set aside, and Hertford was made President of the Council, and Protector of the kingdom. With a view to compel the Scots to give consent to the marriage between their young Queen, Mary, and Edward VI., Somerset invaded Scotland, and overthrew the Scottish army at Pinkie. The result was that the Scots immediately formed an alliance with France, which was considerably strengthened by the marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin.

Somerset's home policy was to push forward the Reformation with all possible speed. The Statutes of Henry IV. against heretics were repealed, a complete English Service Book was drawn up and the First Act of Uniformity passed. His government was, however, in some respects, as despotic as that of Henry VIII. had been. He caused his brother, Lord Seymour, to be arrested, condemned and executed, on a charge of attempting to overthrow his government.

But already there were signs of his popularity waning. The weakness he displayed in crushing Ket's rebellion, the execution of his brother, his sympathy with the people in the matter of the common enclosures, gained him many enemies in the Council. He was compelled to resign his Protectorship and sent to the Tower, but subsequently released. On his attempting to recover his lost influence, he was arrested by order of Northumberland, now the leading member of the Council, and condemned for treason and executed.

Somerset was a well-meaning man of much ability and true patriotism, but incapable as a ruler. The weak side of his character is best seen in his attempting to do everything at one time, in his want of judgment, and in his adopting weak measures, where a strong coercive policy was necessary.

Seymour, Lord, brother of Edward Seymour, was a man of great ambition and unscrupulous character. He had been raised to the peerage by his brother, and made Lord High Admiral, and had further increased his influence by marrying Catherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII., on whose death he even aspired to the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. Taking advantage of the public discontent, he attempted to overthrow his brother and assume his power. He won over to his side the very pirates of the Channel, whom, as Admiral, he had been sent to put down; obtained control of the Bristol mint, and had money coined for his own use, and established two cannon foundries to supply him with ordnance. At last his conduct became so alarming that he was arrested by order of his brother, and condemned for treason by a Bill of Attainder.

## MARY.

Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland, was the son of Edward Dudley, the notorious agent of Henry VII. He rose to some

eminence in the reign of Henry VIII., and in the Scottish War of 1547, he was second in command to Somerset. His victory over the insurgents in Ket's rebellion made him the most influential man in the kingdom, while Somerset's incapacity prepared the way for his advancement. He contrived to win over the young King to his views, and Somerset was arrested, convicted of felony and executed. But the rule of Northumberland was no better than that of Somerset. He was an ambitious, self-seeking man, indifferent to religion, and laboured only for the advancement of himself and his family.

The ill-health of the young King made it evident that he could not live long. Incited, partly by ambitious motives, and partly by the thought that if the Princess Mary should succeed to the throne his own ruin was inevitable, Northumberland formed the ingenious but daring plan of getting the succession altered in favour of Lady Jane Grey, setting aside the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, on the ground of their illegitimacy. He then induced the King to draw up a will without the sanction of Parliament, bequeathing the crown to Lady Jane and her heirs. No doubt Edward VI. favoured the scheme, mainly because he saw that if Mary came to the throne, she, being a zealous Roman Catholic, would undo all the work of the Reformation.

Northumberland's carefully devised plan proved a failure. On the death of Edward, Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen, but almost the whole nation disapproved of altering the succession, and declared in favour of Mary. The Duke was arrested at Cambridge, whither he had gone to seize Mary, and conveyed to London. He was tried and condemned to death for high treason. His conduct during his last days showed how contemptible a man he was. In the hope of obtaining pardon from Mary, he declared himself a Roman Catholic. But even that did not save his life; he was beheaded on Tower Hill to the great joy of the whole nation.

Grey, Lady Jane, was the daughter of Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and Frances Brandon, granddaughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII. She was a sweet, innocent and beautiful girl, and so fond of her books, that while the rest of the family were seeking pleasure in hunting, she preferred to remain at home reading Plato. When she was only sixteen, she became the victim of Northumberland's ambition. To secure his ascendancy in the State and the aggrandizement of his family, he persuaded Edward VI. to alter the line of succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey. She was then married against her will to Northumberland's son, Lord Guilford Dudley, and on the death of Edward was proclaimed Queen. The people, however, refused to recognize her right, and after a brief reign of eleven days she was sent, together with her husband, to the Tower. But Mary had, at the time, no intention of putting them to death.

The Duke of Suffolk's participation in Wyatt's rebellion sealed the fate of Lady Jane and her husband. Mary's anger was roused, and she was determined to take vengeance on the innocent

and guilty alike. Not only were Wyatt and Suffolk, the prime movers of the rebellion, executed, but Lady Jane and her husband also perished on the scaffold. Lady Jane suffered with a dignity and calmness that touched the hearts of all. In her last words she maintained that she died a firm adherent to the Protestant faith; that she had done wrong, but was innocent of any treasonable intention against her cousin.

Wyatt, Sir Thomas, was a young Kentish gentleman, who, taking advantage of the popular discontent caused by the contemplated marriage of Mary and Philip II. of Spain, resolved with other noblemen to risk a general insurrection. To Suffolk was entrusted the duty of raising the Midlands; Sir Peter Carew undertook to stir up Devonshire, while Wyatt himself was charged with the duty of inciting Kent. Suffolk's forces were easily routed and he himself taken prisoner; Carew fled to France, but Wyatt's rebellion assumed formidable dimensions. At the head of 15,000 men he marched on London, and failing to effect an entrance on the south side of the city, crossed the Thames at Kingston. This movement gave the Queen time to organize her forces and strengthen the city, and by the time Wyatt had reached Ludgate Hill most of his followers had deserted him, and after a gallant struggle he was compelled to surrender.

Mary was determined to show no mercy. Wyatt and Suffolk and some hundreds of rebels of inferior rank were immediately executed. Lady Jane and her husband also suffered the extreme penalty, and Gardiner urged that even the Princess Elizabeth should be put to death, but the evidence against her was insufficient and she was only confined to the Tower for a time, and afterwards allowed to retire to Woodstock.

Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury (1484-1556), was sprung from a good old family in Nottinghamshire. He was educated at Cambridge and became Fellow of Jesus College. Having accidentally met Fox and Gardiner at Waltham, he suggested in the course of their conversation that the most expeditious way of settling the much vexed question of the King's Divorce was by appealing to the Universities of Christendom. The suggestion pleased Henry so well that Cranmer was at once installed in the royal favour, and sent round to the various Universities to collect opinions on the subject. About one-half of them declared that the marriage was illegal from the very first.

In 1553 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and shortly after pronounced Catherine's marriage with Henry null and void, "*ab initio*," and Anne's valid. He also annulled Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn and divorced him from Anne of Cleves. He took little part in the dissolution of the monasteries, but was mainly instrumental in issuing an English translation of the Bible, known as the Great Bible, 1540.

Cranmer was no politician, and on the accession of Edward VI. sank into the background. He was a man of learning and refinement and so little influenced by the strife of political factions and self-seeking courtiers, that on his retirement he busied



himself with the compilation of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. He very reluctantly subscribed to the instrument which Northumberland drew up, diverting the succession from Mary to Lady Jane Grey, and shortly after Mary's accession was sent to the Tower.

Cranmer would have been burnt with Ridley and Latimer, but there were legal difficulties in the way, as he had been consecrated a bishop before the breach with Rome, and had duly received his pallium from the Pope. It was necessary, therefore, to get the Pope's authority for his execution. He was a man of real piety, but weak and vacillating, and with a view to shake his courage, he was harassed with frequent trials and cross-examinations, and even compelled to witness from his prison cell the burning of Ridley and Latimer. Tempted by a false promise of pardon, he signed no less than six recantations of his religious opinions, each one more humiliating than its predecessor. But Mary and Pole had determined that he should die, and the day was fixed for his execution. He was brought to St. Mary's Church, Oxford, where a sermon was preached over him, after which he was called upon to read aloud his recantation. But when he saw that his enemies were resolved to take his life, he roused his courage, and instead of reading his recantation, retracted all that he had written. "I come," said he, "to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience; I renounce and refuse all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And as my hand offended, my hand therefore shall first be punished, and shall be first burnt." Amidst the general consternation, he was hurried off to the stake and burnt, steadfastly holding his right hand in the leaping flames and crying out with a loud voice, "*This hand hath offended.*"

Cranmer's courageous death did much to strengthen the Protestant cause, and redeem the moral weakness of his past life.

Latimer, Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, was born in Leicestershire and educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Clare College and University preacher. He was one of the Cambridge Divines appointed to examine the validity of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catherine, and declared in favour of the King. Cromwell's influence gained for him the see of Worcester, but after the passing of the Six Articles he was compelled to resign his see and thrown into prison. On the accession of Edward VI. he was set at liberty, but he declined to accept the responsibility of an episcopal charge, and devoted himself to preaching and works of benevolence. He was a fearless and out-spoken preacher, and in the presence of King Edward and his court often loudly protested against the corruption and self-seeking of the courtiers.

In 1555 the persecuting laws of Henry IV. and V. against heretics were revived, and from that time till the end of Mary's reign the history of England is a catalogue of horrors. Latimer and Ridley were brought to Oxford and commissioners sent thither to try them. The test proposed was the Doctrine of



Transubstantiation. Latimer said that "he had read over his New Testament many times without finding Mass in it," and "that the Bread in the Holy Sacrament was Bread and the Wine was Wine." After many lengthy disputations with their judges, both he and Ridley were condemned to death as heretics. They were chained back to back to the same stake, while Ridley's brother was allowed to hang a bag of gunpowder round each of their necks to hasten their end. As the faggots were being lighted, Latimer cried out to his companion, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out." Latimer's death was almost instantaneous, but Ridley suffered the most excruciating torments, until some friend stirred the faggots at his feet, and the powder exploded and put an end to his sufferings.

Gardiner, Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, was a shrewd but cold and calculating statesman, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary. After leaving Cambridge he became Secretary to Wolsey, and in this capacity won the confidence of Henry VIII., who employed him in company with Bishop Fox on an embassy to the Pope to negotiate the question of the King's Divorce with Catherine. On Wolsey's fall he became Secretary of State. He supported the royal supremacy and wrote a treatise in defence of it, called *De Vera Obedientia*. During the last years of Henry VIII.'s reign he was one of the leaders of the Old Faith and took a prominent part in framing the Six Articles.

On Edward VI.'s accession he refused to accept the new doctrines of the Reformation, and became a state prisoner during the whole of Edward's reign. When Mary ascended the throne, he was set at liberty and appointed Lord High Chancellor. He tried hard to implicate the Princess Elizabeth in Wyatt's rebellion, and was in a great measure responsible for the cruel persecution set on foot against the Protestants.

Bonner, Edmund, Bishop of London (1496-1569), was educated at Oxford and appointed one of Wolsey's chaplains. In 1539 he was made Bishop of London, and became one of the leading members of the Roman Catholic party. He declined to follow the advanced reformers under Edward VI. and was imprisoned. Mary, however, released him, and the vindictive energy he displayed in the persecution of the Protestants has rendered his name particularly odious. *Nearly half of the martyrs who suffered in Mary's reign were burnt in his diocese.* When Elizabeth entered London, Bonner accompanied his fellow bishops to salute her, but the new Queen shrank from him with marked aversion. As he refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, he was imprisoned, and remained in confinement till his death.

Pole, Cardinal, was the son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and a grandson of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. He was educated for the Church and rose high in Henry VIII.'s favour. But as he refused to acquiesce in the divorce of Catherine, he was compelled to withdraw to Rome, where he wrote

a violent pamphlet against Henry. Pope Paul III. made him a Cardinal, while Henry retaliated by passing a Bill of Attainder against him, and causing his aged mother to be executed.

On the Roman Catholic re-action in Mary's reign, the Parliament reversed the Bill of Attainder, and shortly after the Cardinal arrived in London as the Pope's Legate, and was rowed up to Westminster "in a barge of State with a silver cross," the emblem of his office, displayed at its bow. A few days later, both Houses of Parliament were summoned to meet the Cardinal at Whitehall, and there on their knees the Queen and all the members confessed that they had been guilty of the sin of heresy, and having received absolution from the Cardinal's own lips, were re-admitted into the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. Pole became Mary's leading adviser in ecclesiastical matters, and on the death of Cranmer was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Towards the end of his life he became involved in a quarrel with Pope Paul IV. and was deprived of his legatine authority. He died the day after Mary.

## ELIZABETH.

### STATESMEN AND COURTIER.

Cecil, William, Lord Burleigh (1520-1598), a great statesman, was born in Lincolnshire and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He shared in Somerset's disgrace, and was for a short time imprisoned, but on regaining his liberty, acted as Secretary of State, and continued in that office throughout the whole of Edward VI.'s reign. He escaped Mary's displeasure by conforming to the Roman Catholic religion, and on Elizabeth's accession rose so high in her favour, that "*he was the oracle she consulted on every emergency, and whose answer she generally obeyed.*" For the next forty years he practically directed the affairs of the nation, and the history of his life during that period may be said to be the history of England. He advised the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, believing that her death was absolutely necessary for the safety of Elizabeth and the well-being of the State. His employment of a whole army of spies was a blot on his administration, but it saved Elizabeth's life from the dagger of the assassin on more than one occasion.

Cecil was a cautious, shrewd and wise statesman, of liberal views and untiring perseverance and industry, faithful to the State and above corruption. The only reward he received for his services was the barony of Burleigh, which made him "*the poorest lord in England.*"

Walsingham, Sir Francis (1536-1590), "the most penetrating statesman of his time," was born at Chislehurst in Kent, and spent

most of his youth abroad. After the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and having gained the notice of Burleigh, was sent by him as an ambassador to the Court of France, where he discharged his diplomatic duties with such fidelity, diligence and caution, that he became one of Elizabeth's principal Secretaries of State, and a member of the Privy Council. In this capacity he devoted himself with the utmost zeal to the unravelling of the numerous Roman Catholic plots against the Queen and her government. His system of spies was most perfect, and to his vigilance belongs the credit of having detected the Babington Plot. But so great was his integrity, that with every means in his power of acquiring immense wealth, he died in such poverty and debt as to leave scarcely enough to defray the expenses of his funeral.

A biographer of the following century thus describes him: "His head was so strong that he could look into the depths of men and business, and dive into the whirlpools of State. Dexterous he was in finding a secret, close in keeping it. His conversation was insinuating and reserved, he saw every man and none saw him."

**Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532-1588)**, was the fifth son of John Dudley, who was executed for supporting Lady Jane Grey. His handsome exterior soon won him the special favour of Queen Elizabeth, and at one time it was even thought that she would marry him. Leicester had married Amy Robsart, daughter of a Devonshire gentleman, but ten years afterwards she was discovered dead at the foot of a staircase in Cumnor House, supposed to have been murdered at the instigation of her husband.

Leicester was the bitter enemy of Burleigh, whom he regarded as having an undue amount of influence over the Queen. In 1563 Elizabeth proposed him as a husband to Mary, Queen of Scots, with a view, perhaps, to his obtaining the throne of England after her death, but Mary rejected the proposal and married Darnley.

In 1585 Leicester commanded the English expedition which was sent to the Low Countries, but his incapacity to fulfil so responsible a post led to his being recalled. During the panic of the Spanish invasion he commanded the English forces stationed at Tilbury. He died suddenly the same year of a fever.

Leicester was a handsome, polished and attractive courtier, but at the same time ambitious and unscrupulous, void of talent, courage, or virtue.

**Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex (1567-1601)**, was a favoured courtier of Queen Elizabeth. He first saw active military service under Leicester in the Netherlands, and after the destruction of the Spanish Armada he headed the party who clamoured for a vigorous prosecution of the war with Spain, as opposed to the more cautious policy of Burleigh. In 1596, in conjunction with Lord Howard of Effingham and Raleigh, he destroyed the Spanish ships in the harbour of Cadiz, and took the town itself by storm.

He was entrusted with the difficult task of suppressing the Irish rebellion under Tyrone, but proved himself utterly incapable for such an expedition. Instead of attacking the headquarters of the Irish rebels, he carried on a desultory sort of war in the southern part of the island, and after losing most of his troops, was compelled to conclude a humiliating treaty with Tyrone. Without leave of absence he hurried back to London, and unceremoniously rushed into the royal apartments, and claimed an audience with the Queen to justify his conduct. But Elizabeth was so indignant at this breach of orders, that she promptly dismissed him, and bade him not to appear at Court again. Relying on his popularity, and believing that his disgrace was the work of his enemies, he foolishly tried to excite a revolt in London, but failed and was arrested and convicted for treason. Elizabeth very reluctantly signed his death-warrant, and never quite recovered from her grief at his execution.

#### NAVAL AND MILITARY COMMANDERS.

**Howard, Charles**, Lord Howard of Effingham, was the grandson of the Duke of Norfolk, the hero of Flodden. Although a Roman Catholic, Elizabeth appointed him **Lord High Admiral**, and gave him the command of the English fleet, which was sent to oppose the Spanish Armada. He was a shrewd and cautious commander, and displayed great resolution and bravery throughout that great crisis. In conjunction with Essex he took part in the expedition against Cadiz, and was rewarded with the title of **Earl of Nottingham** for his services. He still continued to hold the post of Lord High Admiral under James I., and died in 1624.

**Drake, Sir Francis** (1545-1596), was born at Tavistock, in Devonshire. From his youth he was accustomed to a sea-faring life and accompanied his relative, **Sir John Hawkins**, in his ill-fated expedition of 1567, when he narrowly escaped destruction at the hands of the Spaniards in the harbour of Vera Cruz. In 1572 he sailed with two small vessels, with the intention of making good the losses he had sustained from the Spaniards. He burned Porto Bello, took Nombre de Dios and seized much treasure, after which he crossed the Isthmus of Darien, and from an eminence gazed upon the expanse of the Pacific. In 1577 he started on his most memorable voyage, and having sailed round the globe got safely back to England in 1580. The Queen, in spite of the protests from Spain, dubbed him as knight on the deck of his own ship, *The Golden Hind*, at Deptford.

While the preparations for the Armada were in progress, Drake sailed to Cadiz, and entering the harbour destroyed no less than thirty ships, an exploit which he facetiously called "*singeing the King of Spain's beard*." He then sailed to the Azores, where he captured a Portuguese treasure-ship, containing plunder to the value of £100,000. He held the post of Vice-Admiral in the



English fleet which was opposed to the Armada, and took an active part in the fight which resulted in its destruction. The following year Drake was put in command of an immense fleet to attack the Spaniards in their own country. His attempt, however, met with very little success, beyond inflicting considerable damage on the Spanish shipping.

In 1595, in company with Sir John Hawkins, Drake sailed on his last voyage to the West Indies, but the expedition was attended with nothing but disaster. Hawkins died from fever off Porto Rico, and Drake himself was carried off by dysentery, and was buried at sea.

Frobisher, Martin, a celebrated navigator of Elizabeth's time, was born in Yorkshire, and while yet a boy was sent to sea. The discovery of the North-West passage to China, by way of the north coast of America, seems to have stirred his soul, and in 1578 he set out with two small ships, each of twenty-five tons burden, on his most hazardous voyage. Frobisher touched at Labrador and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to establish a settlement north of Hudson's Bay. He brought back with him a quantity of black ore, which an Italian alchemist said contained gold, but it was afterwards found that the ore contained no gold whatever, and the speculators, who had furnished Frobisher with the funds necessary for his voyage, now entirely deserted him.

Frobisher fought gallantly against the Armada, and was knighted for his services. He died of a wound he had received at the siege of Crozon, near Brest, 1594.

Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1589-1583), a daring and adventurous seaman, was born at Dartmouth. He was half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, by whom he was introduced to the notice of Queen Elizabeth. He was made Governor of Munster and was knighted as a reward for his services, after which he saw five years active service in the Netherlands. In 1576, he published his discourse on the North-West Passage to Cathay and the East Indies, and having obtained a patent from Elizabeth, empowering him to take possession of any remote heathen lands he might discover, he sailed to North America, but accomplished nothing. In no way daunted, he again set sail and took possession of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth. On his return voyage *The Squirrel*, a vessel of only ten tons burden, foundered and all on board perished. Gilbert has been described as "*one of the worthiest men of his age.*"

Grenville, Sir Richard (1540-1597), was sprung from an ancient Cornish family, and as a seaman distinguished himself by his courage and daring. He commanded the fleet which was sent out under Raleigh's direction to found a Colony in North America, afterwards called *Virginia*, in honour of Queen Elizabeth. He was captain of the *Revenge* in Lord Thomas Howard's squadron, which sailed for the Azores to intercept the Spanish treasure-fleet on its return from South America. Off the Island of Flores they fell in with a Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, and



Lord Howard deemed it prudent not to engage the enemy. Sir Richard, however, delayed in following the Admiral, and soon found himself surrounded by the whole of the Spanish fleet. A fierce engagement took place, and for fifteen hours Sir Richard and his 150 gallant men held out against an overwhelming force of Spaniards. At last the *Revenge* became little less than a helpless wreck, her ammunition was spent and scarcely twenty of her men left alive. Sir Richard, too, was mortally wounded, and in despair advised the master-gunner to blow up the ship, but the advice was overruled by the surviving seamen, and the *Revenge* surrendered. The brave hero was carried on board a Spanish ship and died two days afterwards. The story of the *Revenge* has been immortalized in Tennyson's noblest ballad.

### AUTHORS.

Shakespeare, William, the "Prince of Dramatists" and the greatest name in our literature, was born at Stratford-on-Avon (1564). He was in all probability educated at the Grammar School of his native town, where he would acquire "*small Latin and less Greek*." There is every reason to believe that his youth was wild and irregular, and when he was only eighteen, he married Ann Hathaway of Shottery, who was eight years his senior. At the age of twenty-two he quitted Stratford for London, where he soon acquired a reputation as a playwright, adapting old plays to the requirement of the stage, and writing new ones. Three years after his arrival in London, we find him enrolled among the shareholders of the Globe Theatre, and in 1597 he had acquired sufficient means to purchase New Place, a large house in Stratford. His connection with the theatre continued from 1586 till his retirement to Stratford in 1611, a period of twenty-five years, during which he produced thirty-seven plays, including: (1) Historical Plays: *Richard II.*, *Henry V.*, and *Richard III.*; (2) Comedies: *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and the *Tempest*; (3) Tragedies: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Othello* and *Cymbeline*, besides his *Sonnets*. He died in 1616, and was buried in Stratford Church.

Spenser, Edmund (1553-1599), one of the greatest of English poets, was born in London, and became the intimate friend of Sir Philip Sidney, who introduced him to the notice of the Earl of Leicester. In 1580, he was appointed private secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and for his services in that capacity he obtained the estate of Kilcolman Castle, County Cork. In 1598 Tyrone's rebellion swept the land, and the insurgents attacked and burnt Kilcolman Castle. Spenser and his family escaped with difficulty, and came to London, where a year afterwards he died in the greatest poverty, forgotten by the Court and neglected by his friends and patrons. He was

buried in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. His chief works are: *The Faerie Queene*, an allegorical poem narrating the triumph of Elizabeth, *The Shepherds' Calender*, *Colin Clout's come home again*, a pastoral poem, describing Raleigh's voyage from Ireland to England, and a prose work entitled, *View of the State of Ireland*, giving a vivid picture of the state of Ireland in his time, and strongly advocating a policy of coercion.

Hooker, Richard (1553-1600), the author of the well-known *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was educated at Oxford, and on leaving the University became Master of the Temple. In 1591, he received the living of Boscombe, in Wiltshire, where he wrote the first four books of his famous work. Of this work, Hallam says that "*it is one of the masterpieces of English eloquence.*" Besides its literary excellence it is a defence of the Church of England as then established, and the wise and moderate tone of the work has gained for the author the title of "*Judicious.*"

Sidney, Sir Philip (1554-1586), poet, writer, courtier and soldier, was the son of Sir Henry Sidney and Mary Dudley, sister of the Earl of Leicester, the famous favourite of Elizabeth. The nobility of his youth, the beauty of his person, his learning, bravery and generosity, were such that he was "*regarded both at home and abroad as the type of what a chivalrous gentleman should be.*" He accompanied his uncle Leicester in his expedition to the Netherlands, to assist the Protestants in their heroic struggle against the Spaniards. The English troops had laid siege to Zutphen, and while the siege was in progress, Leicester with a handful of men attempted to intercept some thousand troops, who were bringing provisions to the besiegers. In the gallant charge made by the English Sidney was wounded by a musket-ball and died a few days after. The well-known story of his refusing a draught of water on the field of battle, to relieve the wants of a dying soldier, bears testimony to the noble-mindedness of his character.

His chief works are: *Arcadia*, a pastoral romance, and a *Defence of Poesy*, written to combat certain opinions held by the Puritans concerning poetry.

Marlowe, Christopher, was by far the greatest of the dramatic poets, who immediately preceded Shakespeare. To him belongs the honour "*of establishing the use of a lofty and polished blank verse in our English plays.*" He was born at Canterbury and took his degree at Cambridge. He probably led a very irregular life, and had barely reached the age of thirty when he was stabbed by his own dagger in a low pot-house scuffle (1593). His chief plays are, *Tamberlain*, *Faustus*, *Jew of Malta*, and *Edward II.* In tragedy Marlowe prepared the way for Shakespeare, and his *Edward II.* is said by some critics to be equal if not superior to Shakespeare's *Richard II.*

Jonson, Ben, an illustrious dramatist, second only to Shakespeare himself, was born at Westminster about 1573, and was consequently nine years younger than Shakespeare. In his early life he followed the humble occupation of a bricklayer, but studied

with so much diligence that he became one of the most learned men of his age. He served as a soldier in the Low Countries, and on his return to England became an actor and a playwright. In 1619 he was appointed Laureate, or Court Poet, and was frequently employed in preparing those splendid, but fantastic, entertainments called *masques*. He died in 1637 in the twelfth year of the reign of Charles I., and was buried in Westminster Abbey. The stone over his grave is inscribed with the words, "*O rare Ben Jonson.*" His principal tragedies are *Cataline* and *Sejanus*, his finest comedies are the *Alchemist*, *Volpone* and *Every Man in his Humour*, the last being his only play which has been revived in modern times.

Ascham, Roger, the tutor of the Princess Elizabeth and the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, was born in Yorkshire and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1545 he wrote a book in praise of archery, called *Toxophilus*, and dedicated it to Henry VIII., for which he received a pension of £10. Although he leaned towards the reformed doctrines, his prudence saved him from persecution, and he became Latin Secretary to Mary. Elizabeth retained him at Court as her secretary and tutor, which offices he held till his death. His principal work is the *Schoolmaster*, a treatise on classical education, written in so pure a style that it is ranked among the English Classics.

#### OTHER NAMES OF NOTE.

Parker, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Norwich and educated at Corpus Christi, Cambridge. He attained some celebrity as a preacher and became Chaplain to Henry VIII., and Dean of Lincoln. He narrowly escaped persecution for his religious opinions in Mary's reign, but his sound learning and sober judgment recommended him to the favour of Elizabeth, who made him Archbishop of Canterbury. His policy was to bring about a more general uniformity in the Church of England, and in carrying out this policy he had the entire support of the Queen. He reduced the Forty-two Articles of Religion of King Edward VI. to Thirty-nine, thereby making them less offensive to the adherents of the Old Faith. In 1565 he published his *Advertisements*, intended to serve as a book of discipline for the Clergy and the regulation of Divine Service, and his rigid enforcement of the rules laid down in the *Advertisements* raised a storm of opposition from the Puritan Clergy and made him very unpopular. He was mainly instrumental in causing the English translation of the Holy Scriptures to be made known as the "*Bishops' Bible.*" He died in 1575 and was succeeded by Edmund Grindal.

Knox, John (1505-1572), was a native of Haddington, and when he was about 40 years of age, he became a convert to the Reformed

Religion. The struggle between the Protestants and Roman Catholics in Scotland was at this time at its height. Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, had burnt George Wishart, a noted Protestant, and in revenge a party of Protestants had murdered the Cardinal and then sought refuge in the Castle of St. Andrew's, where Knox joined them, glorifying in their "godly act," though he had taken no part in it. A few months later the Castle was taken by the French, and Knox was sent to the galleys, where he remained eighteen months. On the intercession of Edward VI. he regained his liberty, and came to England, and was made one of the Royal Chaplains. When Mary ascended the throne he fled to Geneva, where he wrote his "*Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women*," a furious onslaught against all female rule. Elizabeth was so angry with Knox, that she refused to allow him to return to England, whereupon, he went back to his native land, and having joined the Lords of the Congregation (the name given to the Protestant nobles), threw himself heart and soul into the anti-Papist movement. The mass was suppressed, churches and monasteries burnt to the ground, and all the lands belonging to religious houses confiscated. But the Reformers found that they could not hold their ground against the Regent, Mary of Guise, who had lately received assistance from France, and so they appealed to Elizabeth. The appearance of English troops and the death of the Regent, for a time ruined the Roman Catholic cause in Scotland, and by the Treaty of Edinburgh the government of the country passed into the hands of the Reformers. The result was that the leaders empowered Knox to draw up his *Confession of Faith* and his *First Book of Discipline*, and in this way the foundation of the Presbyterian System was laid in Scotland.

The return of Mary, Queen of Scots to Scotland instilled fresh life into the Roman Catholic party. The mass was restored at Holyrood, and many nobles went over to the young Queen's side. Knox's anger was roused, and for six years he maintained a most hostile attitude against Mary. The murder of Darnley, Mary's marriage with Bothwell, and her flight into England, again placed the management of affairs in the hands of the Protestant party, and Knox continued to inveigh against Roman Catholicism till his death in 1572.

Howard, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was a Roman Catholic nobleman, who held a high position in the reign of Elizabeth. He was appointed President of the Commission held at York to enquire into the grave charges made against Mary, Queen of Scots, of complicity in her husband's murder. He was undoubtedly implicated in the Ridolfi Plot, by which it was arranged that Elizabeth should be dethroned, that Norfolk should marry Mary, and that she should succeed to the English throne. The plot, however, was discovered, and Norfolk imprisoned, but on his promising to renounce the marriage project with the imprisoned Queen, he was liberated. Subsequently, however, he was convicted of renewing the conspiracy and executed, 1572.



**Babington, Anthony**, was born of an old Roman Catholic family in Derbyshire. He had served as a page to Mary, Queen of Scots, while she was a prisoner in England, and being fascinated with her charms was easily prevailed upon by a seminary priest, named John Ballard, to put himself at the head of a conspiracy to murder Elizabeth, release Mary, and raise her to the throne. But Babington foolishly revealed the whole plot to Mary in a letter, which she answered, giving her approval of the scheme, and encouraging the conspirators to immediate action. These letters passed through Walsingham's hands and Babington, Ballard, and five of their associates were arrested and executed.

*The Babington Plot led to the immediate trial of Mary and her execution.*

**O'Neil, Hugh**, Earl of Tyrone, the "*arch-rebel*," as he is called, was at first so friendly to the English government in Ireland that he was commander of a troop of horse against Desmond in Ulster, and was rewarded with the title of Earl of Tyrone for his services. But he soon threw off the mask, and putting himself at the head of the Irish Celtic party waged open war with the English government. At the battle of the Yellow Ford (*Blackwater*) he completely overthrew Sir Henry Bagenal, the English commander, and all Ireland rose in rebellion against the English. Elizabeth, fearing lest the Spaniards would assist the rebels, sent over her favourite, Lord Essex, with an army of 20,000 foot, and 2,000 horse, the largest army ever landed in Ireland. But Essex managed the whole expedition so badly that he was compelled to make a humiliating peace with O'Neil, granting the Irish freedom of religion, and restoring all the confiscated lands to the Irish chiefs. He then hurried back to England without the Queen's permission and was disgraced.

To Lord Mountjoy was committed the task of reducing Ireland. In a short time most of the island submitted, but O'Neil, supported by Spanish troops, still held out. In 1603, however, he submitted, and for the first time the whole of Ireland was brought under English rule.

O'Neil was treated with every consideration by James I., but being roused by the severity of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, he plotted with the Spaniards against the government. The plot was discovered and he fled the country and died at Rome, 1616.

## JAMES I.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

**Bacon, Francis**, Viscount St. Alban's (1561-1626), was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper to Elizabeth. He was educated at Cambridge, and at the age of 21 was called to the Bar. Although he was eminently successful in his profession, his



advancement was slow, mainly owing to the jealousy of the Cecil family. He attached himself to the Earl of Essex, but an estrangement took place, and we find Bacon shortly after taking a prominent part against his patron in his trial for High Treason.

Under James I. he was knighted and took a leading part in the House of Commons on the side of the King. He became Solicitor-General, and after Salisbury's death was made Attorney-General. He gained the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, through whose influence he was made Lord Keeper and finally Lord Chancellor with the title of **Baron Verulam**.

But his fall was at hand. In 1621 the Commons being indignant at James's refusal to adopt a war policy against Spain turned their attention to a redress of domestic grievances. They first enquired into a recent issue of monopolies, which Bacon had promoted, and shortly after charged the Lord Chancellor himself with receiving bribes. No less than twenty-two instances were proved against him, and the whole matter was laid before the House of Lords for enquiry, thus practically reviving the old system of impeachment, which had sunk into disuse since the days of Henry VI. To the general surprise, Bacon made no attempt to defend himself, but threw himself on the mercy of the Lords and the King. His only apology was "*that the presents he had received had never influenced the course of justice.*" His remark on his condemnation proves how confident he was that the practice for which he had been condemned was an evil one. "*I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest sentence in Parliament that was these two hundred years.*" He was dismissed from office, sentenced to pay a fine of £10,000, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure. James however remitted the fine and released him from confinement, but would not allow him to sit again in Parliament.

Bacon spent the remainder of his life in literary work. His chief works are, *The Advancement of Learning* and *Novum Organum*, in which he aims at diverting men from the old worn-out system of philosophy, and directing their attention to the observation and examination of the laws of nature. "He was not an inventor or discoverer of any specific branch of knowledge, but he opened up a new method of enquiry and gave an impetus to future scientific investigation." His other works are his *Essays* and his *History of Henry VII.*

Bacon's idea of government was that of a "*paternal monarchy.*" He maintained that a king, assisted by the wisest counsellors, was better able to legislate for the welfare of the people than that disorganized, ill-informed, but well-meaning body of country gentlemen known as the "House of Commons."

Raleigh, Sir Walter, the last of the great Elizabethan heroes, was descended from an old Devonshire family and was born in 1552. He joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his unsuccessful expedition to Newfoundland, and subsequently assisted in putting down the rebellion of Desmond in Ulster, for which he received 12,000 acres out of the Desmond estates. On his return to England he rose high

in Elizabeth's favour, and obtained from her a charter "*to colonize any lands not held by a Christian prince.*" He made three unsuccessful attempts to establish a colony in America, which received the name of *Virginia*. He took an active part in the defeat of the Armada, and in 1595 sailed to Guinea in search of its *El Dorado*. He accompanied Howard and Essex in their expedition against Spain which resulted in the capture of Cadiz.

On the accession of James I. he lost the favour of Court owing to the personal enmity of Sir Robert Cecil, and was shortly after accused of complicity in Lord Cobham's plot in favour of Arabella Stuart, although it is highly probable that Raleigh had very little to do with it. He was condemned to death, but on the scaffold his sentence was commuted to imprisonment, and for twelve years Raleigh lingered in the Tower, occupying himself in writing his *History of the World*.

In 1615 James, being in want of money, released Raleigh from imprisonment, and allowed him to go to Guinea in search of a gold mine, which was said to exist in that region, but before his departure he exacted a solemn promise from him that he would not molest the dominions of the king of Spain. Misfortune attended the expedition from the very first. Some of the ships were lost, others turned back, sickness broke out among the sailors, and ere they reached the mouth of the Orinoco, Raleigh himself was stricken down with fever and compelled to give up the command to his faithful lieutenant, Thomas Keymis. Leaving Raleigh behind, the adventurers sailed up the river until they came to the Spanish settlement of San Thomé. This they stormed and burnt, but in the conflict Raleigh's son was killed. Disheartened by failure, they made their way back to their leader at the mouth of the river. But Raleigh was determined not to return to England empty-handed, and so he proposed to attack the Spanish treasure-ships. "*There is no peace beyond the line,*" he used to say, "*if the mine fail, there is still the Mexican treasure fleet.*" His captains, however, refused to follow him and he was compelled to sail for England. On his arrival at Plymouth he was arrested and sent to the scaffold on his old sentence. He maintained his high courage till the very last, and people thought that he had done nothing to deserve death, but that he had been sacrificed merely to satisfy the demands of the king of Spain.

Carr, Robert, Earl of Somerset, was descended from a great Border family, and as a boy had served as a page to James I. Subsequently he became Viscount Rochester, and as such was the first Scotchman who sat in the House of Lords. James made him his confidential minister, although he had no capacity suitable for the post. Two years after he formed a connection with the beautiful but profligate Countess of Essex, which resulted in her being divorced from her husband. Rochester wished to marry the Countess, but Sir Thomas Overbury, his intimate friend, was strongly opposed to the match, and tried to dissuade him. The Countess was so infuriated against Overbury, that she procured his imprisonment and finally his murder. The

guilty parties were married, but the horrible story soon leaked out, and while four of the minor instruments of the crime were executed, Rochester and the Countess were only imprisoned. After seven years' captivity, they were released, and died in obscurity.

**Coke, Sir Edward** (1552-1633), Chief Justice of England, was a native of Norfolk. On leaving Cambridge he became a member of the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar. His great ability soon attracted notice, and in 1592 he was made Solicitor-General. Honours were showered fast upon him. He became Speaker of the House of Commons and a few months later Attorney-General, in which capacity he conducted the trial of Essex. The coarse brutality he displayed as Prosecutor of the Crown in Sir Walter Raleigh's trial has gained him little credit with posterity. "*Thou hast a Spanish heart,*" he cried, "*and thyself art a spider of hell, the most vile and execrable of traitors. I want words to express thy viperous treasons.*" "*You want words indeed,*" replied Raleigh, with ready wit, "*for you have spoken the one thing half a dozen times.*"

At the end of James I.'s reign he stands forth as a vindicator of public liberty, and a steady opponent against the increasing power of the Crown. His opposition to monopolies in 1621 gained him the ill-will of the Court, and he was committed with Pym and Selden to the Tower. On his release he became a prominent leader of the popular party and took a large share in drawing up the Petition of Right. As a lawyer and a judge he was in his own time unequalled.

## CHARLES I.

### STATESMEN AND COURTIER.

**Villiers, George**, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), was born in Leicestershire, and being a handsome and intelligent youth, he attracted the notice and favour of James, and on the fall of Somerset took that minister's place in the King's affections. Titles and honours were lavishly heaped upon him; he was knighted, raised to the peerage as Viscount Villiers, and became Earl and Marquis in quick succession. Offices and lands were bestowed upon him with such profusion that he became one of the richest men in the kingdom, and all Court patronage was placed at his disposal. He accompanied Prince Charles to Madrid, with a view to bring about the marriage of that prince with the Infanta, but the negotiations were broken off, chiefly owing to Buckingham's arrogance towards the Spanish court.

The failure of the expedition to Cadiz exposed him to the indignation of the Commons, and the "*great delinquent,*" as he was called, was impeached and saved only by a dissolution of

Parliament. To regain his popularity, he fitted out an expedition to assist the Huguenots at La Rochelle, but suffered an ignominious defeat at the Island of Rhé and returned home in disgrace. While engaged at Portsmouth in fitting out a second expedition to Rochelle, he was stabbed by John Felton, a subaltern, who had served under him, and had been refused promotion.

Wentworth, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, was descended from a great Yorkshire family, and was born in 1593. He was educated at Cambridge, and sat in the Parliaments of James I., for Yorkshire. He was excluded from the Second Parliament of Charles I. by being appointed sheriff, but resumed his seat in the Third Parliament, and assisted in drawing up the famous Petition of Right. Like Bacon, he held that a strong government, led by an enlightened king, and assisted by a council of wise statesmen, was better able to rule a nation than an intolerant House of Commons, and with this view in mind he deserted the popular cause and joined the King. "*You are leaving us now,*" said Pym, "*but we shall not leave you while your head is on your shoulders.*" Charles recognized his ability, raised him to the peerage, and appointed him President of the Council of the North, in which capacity he ruled with a rod of iron.

In 1632 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland. Under his government that country became more prosperous than it had ever been before. Trade was increased, the manufacture of flax introduced, a respectable army organized, and a docile Parliament called into existence, and many reforms carried out in the Church. But his rule was attended with such harshness that it was little better than a "*Reign of Terror.*" His scheme, which he called "*Thorough,*" was to make the King's power absolute. "*The King,*" he wrote to Laud, "*is as absolute here as any prince in the world can be.*"

In 1638 the Scots took up arms against Charles's tyrannical government, and threatened to invade England. Charles became so alarmed that he summoned Strafford from Ireland to his assistance. On his arrival, he strongly advised Charles to summon his Fourth Parliament, but it proved so unmanageable that Charles dissolved it. The Long Parliament met in 1640, and led by Pym proceeded to impeach Strafford on the charge of illegal and tyrannical government. The impeachment, however, fell through, and a Bill of Attainder was brought in against him, based on information supplied by Sir Harry Vane, from certain notes which his father had taken down during a council, where Strafford was reported to have said, "*You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce 'this country' to obedience,*" and the prosecution contended that the words "*this country*" referred to *England*. A Bill founded on this slender charge passed the Commons by 204 to 59. But the Lords still hesitated. The discovery of the Army Plot to rescue Strafford sealed his fate. The Lords at once passed the Bill, and the royal assent only was necessary. Charles at first refused to give it, but the fear of a popular rising induced him to yield. Strafford, too, had written



and released his royal master from his promise of protection, and so with infinite sorrow Charles signed the Bill, remarking as he did so, "*The Earl is a happier man than I.*" Even his enemies were surprised. "*What, has he given us Strafford?*" cried Pym, "*then he will give us anything.*" Four days after he was executed, and thus "*the only supremely able man the King had was removed.*"

Eliot, Sir John (1570-1632), was born of an old Cornish family, and studied at Oxford. He entered Parliament, and figured as an adherent of Buckingham. Gradually, however, he became convinced that Buckingham was bent on ruining his country, and so he deserted him, and came forward as one of the most ardent champions of constitutional rights.

In the Second Parliament of Charles I. he impeached Buckingham on behalf of the Commons, and was in consequence sent to the Tower, but shortly afterwards released. He took a leading part in drawing up the Petition of Right, and in 1629 brought forward his famous Resolutions against religious changes and illegal taxation. The Speaker, however, Sir John Finch, refused to put the question in obedience to the King's orders, whereupon a scene of strange disorder ensued. The doors were locked, and the Speaker, in spite of his tears and entreaties, was forcibly held in his seat by Holles and Valentine, while the "Resolutions" were read amidst the acclamations of the Commons. Eight days after Charles dissolved Parliament with a speech, which characterized his opponents as "*vipers,*" and a proclamation was issued *intimating his intention of governing without a Parliament.* Eliot was sent to the Tower. As he refused to beg pardon of the King, he was kept in confinement for three and a half years. During his imprisonment he fell very ill and entreated the King to release him till he should regain his health, but Charles refused, and not long after Eliot died.

Eliot was one of the ablest men of his time, and was truly noble-minded and patriotic.

Pym, John (1584-1643) was born in Somersetshire, of good birth, and competent fortune, and became the chief leader of the "Opposition" in the earlier part of Charles I.'s reign. He was a man of great experience in parliamentary affairs, a very able debater, and had "*a very comely and grave way of expressing himself.*" He took part in the impeachment of Buckingham, and assisted Wentworth in drawing up the Petition of Right. He was strongly Presbyterian in his religious views, and supported Eliot in bringing forward his "Resolutions." He was the prime mover in the impeachment of Strafford and Laud. So great was his influence that the Royalists gave him the nickname of "*King Pym.*" He was one of the Five Members, and when the Civil War broke out his power in Parliament was supreme. His last important work was the completion of an alliance with the Scots to secure their assistance in the war, 1643. He died the same year and was buried in Westminster Abbey, but by order of the Convention Parliament,



1660, his body was removed to St. Margaret's Church. Clarendon speaks thus of him, "*He seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the House of Commons of any man, and I think he was the most able to do hurt that hath lived at any time.*"

## COMMANDERS.

**Rupert, Prince (1619-1682)**, was the third son of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I. On the breaking out of hostilities between the King and Parliament, he had command of the Royalist cavalry. As a general, he possessed reckless courage but little judgment, and won many a battle by his resistless charges, only to lose it by a too headlong pursuit. He fought at Edgehill, Brentford, Chalgrove, Newbury 1st, Marston Moor, Newbury 2nd, and Naseby. His surrender of Bristol in 1545 so incensed Charles that he dismissed him from his service.

In the reign of Charles II. he obtained high command in the Navy, and under Monk did good service against the Dutch. The last ten years of his life he spent in scientific researches.

**Cavendish, William**, Duke of Newcastle, was one of Charles I.'s generals in the Civil War. He was a splendid horseman, and had great influence in the North, where he acted as general of the King's forces, but he was in the main an inefficient general. He defeated Sir Thomas Fairfax at Adwalton Moor, but was routed at Marston Moor, and took ship to Flanders. During the Commonwealth he lived on the Continent, at times in great poverty, but he returned to England at the Restoration.

**Carey, Lucius**, Lord Falkland (1610-1643), was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and served in the Low Countries. On his return to England he settled down at Great Tew, in Oxfordshire, where he gathered round him all the brilliant and distinguished intellects of the day. In the Long Parliament he appeared as an opponent of Charles's arbitrary power, but when he saw that the "popular party" was going too far, and the intolerant Presbyterians were gaining the ascendancy, he went over to the side of the King. When the war broke out, he gave his services loyally to the King, but soon became weary of the struggle and almost courted death. In the first battle of Newbury he insisted on being placed in the first rank, and was mortally wounded in the first charge. His last words were, "*Peace! Peace!*" His splendid virtues and his generous spirit gained for him the name of the "*Glory of the Royalists.*"

**Hampden, John**, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, was one of the leading spirits of the popular party in the reign of Charles I. He refused to pay his share of Ship-money, amounting to twenty shillings, due for lands in the parish of Stoke Mandeville, and was prosecuted before the Court of Exchequer. Of the twelve judges,

who sat on his trial, seven decided against him, but the prosecution made him the most popular man in England. *"Every man enquired who, and what he was, that he durst of his own charge support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country from being made a prey to the Court."*

Hampden sat in the Long Parliament as member for Bucks, and took part in almost all the leading transactions, especially in those, which ended in Strafford's death. He was one of the Five Members, whom Charles I. attempted to arrest, and when hostilities broke out he subscribed £2,000 to the popular cause, and took a Colonel's commission in the Parliamentary army. While endeavouring to check a marauding force under Prince Rupert at Chalgrove Field, he was mortally wounded, and was seen *"riding off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, and with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse."* He died at Thame six days after. *"Every honest man,"* says a Puritan Colonel, *"hath a share in his loss. He was a gallant man, an honest man, and an able man, and take all, I know not to any living man second."*

Fairfax, Thomas (1612-1671), was a zealous Presbyterian, who took the side of the Parliament in the Great Rebellion. When the Civil War commenced, he acted as his father's lieutenant in Yorkshire, and was defeated by the Duke of Newcastle at Adwalton Moor. He assisted Cromwell at the Winceby Fight, and having routed the King's Irish troops at Nantwich recovered the county of Cheshire for the Parliament. At the battle of Marston Moor, he commanded the right wing of the Parliamentary army, and after the victory reduced the various Yorkshire fortresses which still held out for the King. When Essex and Manchester gave up their commissions owing to the Self-Denying Ordinance, Fairfax was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces and defeated Charles at Naseby. He overthrew Goring at Langport, and Sir Ralph Hopton at Torrington, and completed the subjugation of the West.

In the Second Civil War he routed the Royalists at Maidstone. He was one of the 135 members appointed to sit in judgment on Charles I., but when his name was called, his wife, who happened to be present, cried out, *"He is not here and never will be; you do wrong to name him."*

Under the Commonwealth he refused to take command of the Parliamentary army against the Scots, who had proclaimed Charles II., and Cromwell was appointed in his place. When Monk marched into England, Fairfax openly declared for a Free Parliament. He was a man of great integrity and a very able general.

Essex, Robert, Lord Devereux, third Earl, was the son of Essex, the favourite of Elizabeth. When the Scots rose in rebellion against Charles, Essex was appointed Lieutenant-General of the English army, but on the meeting of the Long Parliament he went over to the popular side. On the breaking out of the Civil War, he was

appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces, and fought the battle of Edgehill. His greatest exploit was the relief of Gloucester. After the battle of 1st Newbury, he marched into the West to relieve Lyme, and thence proceeded to Cornwall, hotly pursued by Charles, who had just overcome Waller at Cropredy Bridge. At Lostwithiel Essex was hemmed in by the Royal forces; his cavalry dashed through the King's lines, but his infantry surrendered, and he himself escaped by sea to Plymouth, and thence to London. He was, like Manchester, to use Cromwell's own words, "*afraid to conquer*," and on the passing of the Self-Denying Ordinance laid down his commission. He died the next year. As a soldier he was brave, but as a general incompetent.

Graham, James, Marquis of Montrose, a distinguished Scottish general, who, in the reign of Charles I., raised the royal standard in Scotland, and defeated the Covenanters in four successive battles, at Tippermuir, Inverlochy, Auldearn and Kilsyth. He was, however, utterly routed by Leslie at Philiphaugh and fled to Flanders. In 1650, being weary of his exile, he resolved to hazard another Royalist rising. He landed in Scotland, but was captured at Corbiesdale and executed. Charles II., to his infinite disgrace, disowned the efforts Montrose had made in his favour.

Leslie, David, a celebrated Scottish general, was the nephew of Alexander Leslie (see page 160). He was present at Marston Moor, and overthrew Montrose at Philiphaugh. After Charles's defeat at Naseby, and his surrender to the Scottish army, Leslie handed the fugitive King over to the English Parliament, on promise of receiving £400,000, the amount of the expenses which the Scots had incurred in the war. Leslie and the Covenanters did not approve of the action of the Parliament in the execution of Charles, and maintained a hostile attitude against the New Republic. Cromwell was sent against him, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots at Dunbar. At Worcester Leslie was taken prisoner and confined to the Tower, where he remained till the Restoration. Charles II. made him Lord Newark in recognition of his services at Worcester. He died in 1682.

#### OTHER NAMES OF NOTE.

Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the son of a well-to-do clothier at Reading, and was educated at Reading School and St. John's College, Oxford. He was elected Fellow of his College, and became one of the chief opponents of the Puritan party in Oxford. His solid learning, his amazing industry, his sincere and unselfish Churchmanship, soon won him many friends and patrons. James I. made him Bishop of St. David's, but had grave misgivings about entrusting a bishopric to so zealous a Churchman. "*He hath*," said he, "*a restless spirit, which cannot see when things are well, but loves to toss and change and bring matters to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain.*"

Charles I. recognized his administrative capacity, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury and his chief adviser in Church matters. Laud's great aim was to bring the members of the Church of England more closely together by a rigid enforcement of ceremony. But his vigorous policy gave great offence to the Puritans in the Church, who thought that all ceremonies were Romish in character, and Laud himself to be little better than a Papist in disguise. By the aid of the Star Chamber he punished all those Puritans who would not conform to his views. Hundreds of ministers were deprived of their livings, and Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, for writing pamphlets against the government and against the bishops, were fined, mutilated and imprisoned.

Laud's attempt to introduce into Scotland a "Prayer Book," modelled on that used in England, met with the fiercest opposition. A riot took place in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh. This led to the signing of the National Covenant by the whole nation and the invasion of England by the Scots (known as the Bishops' War), and ultimately to the meeting of the Long Parliament, 1640. As soon as the House assembled, the Commons proceeded to take vengeance on the King's chief advisers, Strafford and Laud. A Bill of Attainder was therefore passed against Strafford and he was executed. Laud was also impeached of High Treason, as "*the root and ground of all the country's miseries*," and was sent to the Tower. For two-and-a-half years he lingered in prison; all his papers were seized, his revenues confiscated and his goods sold.

In 1643 he was brought to trial, the charge being, "*that he had endeavoured to subvert the laws, overthrow the Protestant religion and to act as an enemy to the Parliament.*" Although the Lords declared that none of these charges came under the definition of treason, the Commons were unanimously resolved that he should suffer the extreme penalty, and he was therefore condemned by an Ordinance of Attainder and beheaded, 1645. The integrity of his life, the loftiness of his aims, and the injustice of his execution have done much to redeem the intolerance, which marks the whole of his Church policy.

Hotham, Sir John, was made Governor of Hull by the Parliament, so as to secure the large magazines of arms, which had been stored in that town by the Royalists. Before hostilities had actually commenced, Charles appeared in person at the gates of Hull and demanded admittance, but was refused. Subsequently, however, Hotham was executed by order of the Parliament for plotting to deliver up the town to the Royalists, 1645.

Digby, John, Earl of Bristol, was the English ambassador at the court of Spain, who had incurred the displeasure of Buckingham. When Bristol returned to England, Charles refused to issue a writ calling him to the House of Lords in his Second Parliament. But the peers declared that such a course was illegal, and so Charles was obliged to give way and ordered the writ to be issued.

Noy, William, was Attorney-General in the reign of Charles I., and the proposer of the famous Ship-Money. He discovered among



the records in the Tower, that in early times seaports and maritime counties had sometimes been called upon to furnish ships for the public service. He drew up the first writ for Ship-money, but died two months before it was issued.

**Leighton, Dr. Alexander**, a Scottish Divine, was the author of a book called, *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*, full of the strongest language against the bishops and the Queen, the former he denounced as "*men of blood*," the latter as a "*Canaanite and an idolatress*." At Laud's instigation he was brought before the Star Chamber, fined £10,000, whipped, pilloried, deprived of his ears, branded, and imprisoned for eleven years, at the expiration of which time, he was released by the Long Parliament, and made Keeper of the State Prison at Lambeth Palace.

**Prynne, William**, was a learned lawyer and antiquary, but a narrow-minded Puritan, who wrote many works of a controversial character. In 1632, he published his *Histriomastix* or "*the scourge for stage-players*," condemning stage plays and players, dancing, interludes, and other festivities, and containing words, which were supposed to reflect on the character of the Queen, who was fond of acting in masques. The book was condemned by the Star Chamber, and the author heavily fined, pilloried, deprived of his ears, and shut up during the King's pleasure. Even this severe sentence did not silence Prynne. From his prison at Ipswich he continued to pour forth his libellous attacks, and his work, *News from Ipswich*, against the bishops, gained for him a repetition of his former mutilation and imprisonment for life in Jersey. He was, however, released by the Long Parliament, and became member of Parliament for Newport. He was opposed to the King's trial, and was one of the members expelled by Pride's Purge. Subsequently he was appointed Keeper of the Records of the Tower, and held that office till his death.

## THE COMMONWEALTH.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

**Vane, Sir Harry**, was one of the most prominent leaders of the popular party in the reign of Charles I. Chiefly on his evidence, a Bill of Attainder was passed against Strafford, and in 1643 he was appointed as one of the Commissioners to negotiate an alliance with the Scotch, which resulted in the Parliament's signing the Solemn League and Covenant. Vane disapproved of Pride's Purge, and took no part in the trial of King Charles.

On the establishment of the Commonwealth, he was appointed one of the Council of State, and presided over the Admiralty. He opposed Cromwell in his attempt to reform the Rump by bringing in the Perpetuation Bill, by which all existing members were to retain their seats and have a veto in the election of new members. This led to the expulsion of the Rump by Cromwell.



Vane sat in Cromwell's First Parliament, summoned under the Instrument, and headed the Republican party in its opposition to the Protector, by calling in question *the authority of the Instrument and the advantage of a government by Parliament and a single person*. In 1656 he wrote a tract, entitled: *A Healing Question Propounded*, in which his hostility towards the Protector, caused him to be summoned before the Council, and to be imprisoned in Carisbrooke for three months.

On the Restoration he was arrested, and exempted from the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. After two years' imprisonment he was tried and condemned to death, the King remarking, "*he was too dangerous a man to live, if he could honestly be put out of the way.*" He was executed in 1662.

**Blake**, Robert, a distinguished English Admiral in the time of the Commonwealth, was born at Bridgewater, 1597. On the breaking out of the Civil War, he took part in the defence of Bristol and heroically held Taunton against the Royalists. But it is as a naval commander that his name shines forth most. Although he was defeated by the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, in a hard fought battle off the Naze in 1653, yet in the following year he gained three decisive battles over the Dutch off Portland, the North Foreland and the Texel. In the last of these engagements the gallant Van Tromp was killed, and the ruin of Holland's naval power completed.

In 1656 Blake sailed to the Mediterranean and taught the pirates of Algiers to respect the English flag. The following year he captured the Spanish plate fleet off Cadiz, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spaniards at Santa Cruz, but died the same year, while his ship was entering Plymouth Harbour.

**Monk**, George, Duke of Albemarle, was one of the most distinguished commanders during the time of the Commonwealth. At first he supported the Royalist cause and joined the forces, which Ormond had sent over from Ireland to assist Charles, but having been taken prisoner by Fairfax, he was committed to the Tower. Here he remained two years and gained his liberty by signing the Covenant. He then entered the Parliamentary army.

Cromwell recognized his abilities as a general, and made him his Lieutenant-General of Artillery in the army, which was sent against the Scots. At Dunbar Monk displayed great bravery, and when Cromwell returned to England, he left him to complete the subjugation of Scotland.

Monk was appointed one of the Admirals in the First Dutch War, and fought in the glorious victory off the Texel.

On the resignation of Richard Cromwell the whole government was thrown into confusion. Monk, who was at the time in Scotland, recognized that a strong Royalist re-action was setting in, and, seizing the opportunity, marched to London and recalled the remnant of the Long Parliament. As soon as it met, it summoned a Convention, and then dissolved itself. The Convention met and a formal deputation was forwarded to Charles, asking him to accept the crown. Charles landed at

Dover, and was welcomed by the whole nation. Monk was rewarded with the title of Duke of Albemarle and a substantial pension of £7,000 a year. Soon after he retired into private life and died in 1670.

**Milton, John** (1608-1674), the greatest epic poet of modern ages, was educated at St. Paul's, London, and at Cambridge. After leaving the University, he retired to Horton in Bucks, where he wrote his *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*; works, which in themselves were sufficient to place him in the first rank of English poets.

In 1641 he appeared as the literary champion of the Puritan party, and wrote a pamphlet entitled *Reformation concerning Church Discipline in England*. This was followed by his best prose work, *Areopagitica*, a plea for the liberty of the press. Immediately after the execution of Charles I. he wrote a pamphlet justifying the act, and was appointed Secretary of Foreign Tongues to the Council of State, his duty being to draft diplomatic correspondence with foreign powers, which was at that time carried on in Latin. In 1649 he published his *Eikonoclastes* in answer to the *Eikon Basilike*. In 1652 he became totally blind.

After the Restoration he passed some months in hiding, and in 1667 gave to the world his Famous *Paradise Lost*, the copyright of which he sold for £5. His last important works were *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. He died in 1674, poor and neglected.

**Dorislaus, Dr. Isaac**, was born in Holland, and on coming to England sided with the Parliament. On account of his extensive knowledge of English law, he was chosen to assist in preparing the charge against Charles I., and when the Republic was established, he was sent to Holland to negotiate an alliance with that country. On his arrival at the Hague he was assassinated by some adherents of Montrose. His body was buried in Westminster Abbey but afterwards exhumed.

**Ireton, Henry**, a Parliamentary general, who fought at Edgehill, Naseby and the siege of Bristol. He was one of the most implacable enemies of Charles I. and took a leading part in his trial. He married Cromwell's daughter, and accompanied his father-in-law to Ireland to subjugate that country. When Cromwell was recalled to England, he left Ireton as Lord-Deputy, which office he "conducted with great ability and with unbounded devotion to the public service." He died of the plague before Limerick, 1651, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, but on the Restoration his body was dragged from the tomb, and hanged at Tyburn.

## CHARLES II.

### STATESMEN.

**Hyde, Edward**, Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), was born in Wilts and entered the Middle Temple. He sat in the Long Parliament, and

stoutly opposed the Grand Remonstrance. He became one of the King's chief advisers, and laboured hard in conjunction with Lord Falkland to form a party of "*Constitutional Royalists*." In all the negotiations which passed between the King and the Parliament, Hyde was the King's chief agent. He accompanied Prince Charles during his exile, and on the Restoration became the Earl of Clarendon and the King's chief minister.

Clarendon's firm attachment to the Church led him to attempt the re-establishment of the old system of religious uniformity. To accomplish this, he passed the most severe laws against the Nonconformists, including the Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act. But the disastrous management of the Dutch War, the sale of Dunkirk, the severe laws against Nonconformists, even the Fire and Plague of London all served to increase his unpopularity, and the Commons decided on his impeachment. Moreover, Charles was tired of his minister, and wanted to get rid of him, and so he advised him to leave the country, and Clarendon, acting on the King's advice, fled to France. The Parliament summoned him to return and stand upon his trial, but he refused, and this was considered as a proof of his guilt, and he was condemned to exile for life. He spent the remainder of his life in writing the History of the Rebellion, his object being "*to explain to posterity the success of the Rebellion, and to vindicate the memory of those few, who out of duty and conscience had opposed and resisted that torrent.*"

Clarendon was a sound lawyer, an able statesman and a most zealous supporter of the Church of England, an institution, which he believed "to be exactly formed and framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety and for the preservation of peace."

Osborne, Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Danby, and the Duke of Leeds, was the son of Sir Thomas Osborne, and was born in 1631. On the breaking up of the Cabal Ministry, he became the King's chief adviser. He rigidly enforced the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters, and was opposed to the aggressive policy of the French king, Louis XIV. He used his influence to bring about a marriage between the Princess Mary and William of Orange, much to the disgust of Louis, who was William's great opponent. In revenge, the French king was determined to work his downfall. He instructed Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, to lay before the House of Commons a secret treaty written by Danby, and signed by Charles, in which the latter promised to disband the army and not to assist the Dutch on payment of the huge bribe of six million livres from Louis. The indignation of the Commons was roused, and Danby was impeached, and although not tried, was sent to the Tower, where he remained six years.

When James II. began to threaten the civil and religious liberties of Englishmen, Danby allied himself with the Whig party, and was one of those who signed the invitation to William of Orange.

He became President of William III.'s Council with a position corresponding to that of Prime Minister, but his second administration was, like his first, notorious for its systematic bribery. He himself was not free from corruption, and in 1695 was impeached for receiving a bribe from the East India Company, but escaped condemnation. Subsequently he retired from office and died in 1712.

**Cooper, Anthony Ashley**, Earl of Shaftesbury, was born in Dorset, 1621. He sat in the Barebone's Parliament and in the first Protectorate Parliament, but having quarrelled with Cromwell was excluded from his second Parliament. He was a member of the Convention Parliament of 1659, and appointed one of the Commissioners, who was sent to Breda to recall Charles II.

At the Restoration, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and created Lord Ashley. He was one of the most prominent members of the infamous **Cabal Ministry**, and all the wrongdoings of that body have been attributed to him. On the breaking up of the Cabal, caused by the passing of the Test Act, Shaftesbury became the leader of the Opposition against the Crown. He made a clever but wicked use of the pretended plots of Titus Oates and others, to excite the nation against the Roman Catholics and the Duke of York.

He was elected President of Sir William Temple's Council of Thirty, and while holding this office he passed his famous **Habeas Corpus Act**, generally known at the time as "*Lord Shaftesbury's Act*." He failed in his attempt to get the Exclusion Bill passed, and attended the Oxford Parliament with a large body of armed followers. This did much to destroy his influence, and he was indicted for High Treason, but the Grand Jury in London threw out the Bill. In despair he now plotted with Sidney, Russell, and others to overthrow the government, and place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne, but the conspiracy was discovered, and he fled to Holland where he died, 1683.

Shaftesbury was undoubtedly a clever statesman and a great debater, but he was restless, ambitious, and unscrupulous. He displayed great tact in the management of a political faction, and is generally considered as the originator of "*party government*."

**Temple, Sir William** (1628-1699), was the son of Sir John Temple, and was born in London. In 1666 he was appointed ambassador to the Court of Brussels, and by his exertions the famous **Triple Alliance** was signed between England, Holland, and Sweden against the aggressive policy of France.

On the fall of Danby, Charles sought his assistance, as being the only man who could stand against the violent opposition of Shaftesbury and his party. Temple suggested the formation of a Council of Thirty, who should stand between the king and the Parliament. Fifteen of its members were to be royal officials, and fifteen to be independent noblemen of great influence and wealth, nominated by the Crown. The scheme, however, proved a failure, partly because the number was found to be too large for



practical purposes, and partly because the members were not bound by any tie of party feeling. Moreover, the power soon fell into the hands of an "*Inner Council*," who practically managed the whole business. Shortly after Temple retired into private life, and gave the rest of his days to literary work. He is best known as a skilful and successful diplomatist.

**Sidney, Algernon**, was the son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester. He was a steady opponent of the arbitrary rule of Charles I., and on the breaking out of the Civil War entered the Parliamentary army, and fought at **Marston**, where he was wounded. He took no part in Charles I.'s trial, and being opposed to Cromwell's usurpation of power retired into private life during the Protectorate. After the Restoration he withdrew to the Continent, but was pardoned and allowed to return to England.

On the flight of Shaftesbury he became one of the leaders of the Whigs. Among the subordinates of his party, were some who were in favour of an "*armed resistance*" against Charles II.'s government. A plot was therefore formed to kill the King as he passed from Newmarket to London, near a lonely farm-house called the **Rye House**, in Hertfordshire, but it was betrayed by Rumbold, an old Republican officer, who was at this time the owner of the Rye House. Sidney was arrested, and tried before Chief Justice Jeffreys for complicity in the plot, and although the only evidence against him was an unpublished work, entitled *Discourse concerning Government*, advocating the principles of a Republican Government, he was found guilty of treason and executed, 1683. He died "*rejoicing in the good old cause*."

**Russell, William, Lord**, was one of the chief leaders of the Whig party in the reign of Charles II. He led the attack on James, Duke of York, which resulted in drawing up the **Exclusion Bill**, and became one of the prominent members of Sir William Temple's Council of Thirty.

The failure of the attempt to pass the Exclusion Bill, induced some of the more desperate Whigs to form a plot to assassinate the King near the Rye House. Russell was arrested for supposed implication in this plot, and condemned to death on very insufficient evidence, Charles remarking, "*If I do not take his life, he will soon take mine*." He refused to the very last to agree to the doctrine of "non-resistance," and was executed in 1683. The injustice of his sentence, and the courage and devotion of his wife, who appeared at his trial as his secretary, have rendered his name memorable.

#### AUTHORS, ETC.

**Dryden, John (1631-1700)**, one of England's greatest poets, was educated at Westminster School and Cambridge. He appears to have changed his politics and religion several times, for we find him writing an elegiac poem on the death of Oliver Cromwell,



and two years after celebrating the restoration of Charles II., in a poem called *Astræa Redux*. This was followed by *Annus Mirabilis*, relating the wonderful events, or rather calamities, of 1665-66. His greatest work is *Absalom and Achitophel*, a political satire on the intrigues of Monmouth and Shaftesbury. In 1682 he wrote *Religio Laici*, an eloquent and vigorous defence of the Church of England against the attacks of Dissenters.

Under James II. he embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and shortly after published *The Hind and Panther*, an allegorical book, justifying his conversion, in which "the milk-white hind, unspotted and unchanged," represents the Church of Rome, while the Panther, "the noblest creature of the spotted kind," stands for the Church of England. His other works are, his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, one of the finest lyrics in the English language, his *Translation of the Æneid*, and the *Satires of Juvenal*. He also produced no less than twenty-eight plays, none of which however, have retained possession of the stage. Among these may be mentioned the *Indian Emperor*, the *Conquest of Granada*, *Aureng-zebe*, and *Don Sebastian*. In his use of the "rhymed heroic couplet" either for description, invective, declaration, or reasoning, he brought that measure to the highest degree of perfection possible.

**Butler, Samuel**, the author of one of the greatest political satires in the English language, was the son of a Worcestershire farmer. His greatest work, *Hudibras*, is a satirical poem, designed to caricature the vices and absurdities of the Republican party, and especially the two dominant sects in it, the Presbyterians and Independents. The poem became at once the most popular book of the day, and was an especial favourite with Charles II. But the author gained so little solid reward from the Court, that he is said to have died in extreme poverty in London.

**Bunyan, John**, the greatest master of allegory that ever lived, was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628. In early life he was a tinker, then a soldier, and afterwards a Nonconformist minister. While in the performance of his latter duties, he was arrested under the Conventicle Act, and confined for twelve years in Bedford County gaol. Here he wrote his immortal allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress*, narrating the struggles, experiences and trials of a Christian in his pilgrimage from this world to the world to come. It was first published in 1678, and its popularity was so great, that in seven years it ran through ten editions. It has since been translated into all the principal languages of the world.

Bunyan's other works are numerous, but the chief are *Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, an interesting religious autobiography, and the *Holy War*, an allegory setting forth the siege and capture of Mansoul, and picturing the struggle between sin and religion in a human soul. Bunyan was released from prison by the influence of Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, and continued his labours as a preacher up till his death, which happened in 1688.

**Baxter, Richard**, a leading Puritan Divine, was born in Shropshire, and entered into the ministry of the Church of England, but subsequently he became a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and after the Restoration, was for many years the victim of unrelenting persecution. His numerous works are little read in the present day except, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, and a *Call to the Unconverted*. He died in 1691.

**Taylor, Jeremy**, was born at Cambridge, and studied at Caius College. At a very early age he took holy orders and went to London, where his graceful and pleasant manner, and his youthful eloquence soon attracted the notice of Archbishop Laud, and he became one of the Archbishop's chaplains. At the Restoration he was made Bishop of Down and Connor, and died in 1667. Hallam says "*he was the chief ornament of the English pulpit up to the middle of the 17th Century.*"

**Oates, Titus**, was the notorious fabricator of the Popish Plot, which bears his name. He had held a curacy and a naval chaplaincy, from both of which appointments he was expelled for bad conduct. He then became a Roman Catholic, and was admitted to the Jesuit seminaries of Valladolid and St. Omer. Taking advantage of the popular feeling against Roman Catholics he devised a great Popish plot, the main features of which were, the rising of the Roman Catholics, a general massacre of the Protestants, the burning of London and the assassination of the King. The murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates made his depositions, gave an appearance of truthfulness to his story, and Oates became the hero of the day. All London was mad with excitement. Oates was hailed as the "*saviour of the nation*," a pension of £900 a year was awarded to him for his services, he was dressed like a bishop, and a suite of apartments devoted to his use at Whitehall. For the next two years many Roman Catholics on the most flimsy evidence were sent to the scaffold. But soon a re-action set in, and in James II.'s reign Oates was convicted of perjury, sentenced to be degraded from the ministry, pilloried, flogged, and imprisoned for life. William III., however, set him at liberty, and gave him a pension of £300 a year. He died in 1705.

## JAMES II.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

**Monmouth, Duke of**, was the illegitimate son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, a Welshwoman of low character. He was born at Rotterdam, and when thirteen years of age came over to England, and was created Duke of Monmouth. Subsequently he married a rich heiress, Anne, Countess of Buccleuch, and was made Duke of Buccleuch. In 1679 he was sent to suppress a rising of the

Covenanters in Scotland, and the humanity he displayed in dealing with the rebels after their defeat at Bothwell Bridge, gained him the goodwill of the people and an enthusiastic reception in London.

Shaftesbury now put forward Monmouth (the *Protestant Duke* as he was called, in contra-distinction to James, Duke of York) as the rightful heir to the throne, to the exclusion of James, who was the heir-presumptive. But Charles resolutely refused to acknowledge his claim, and banished him to Holland. Subsequently, however, he was allowed to return and was received by the people with every demonstration of joy. He was handsome and attractive, but weak minded and easily led by intellects stronger than his own. Soon after he became implicated in the Rye House Plot. On the discovery of the plot Russell and Sidney perished on the scaffold, while a father's tenderness secured Monmouth's pardon. But as he still continued the leader of a disaffected party, Charles banished him a second time to Holland. On the accession of James II., the more desperate of the exiled Whigs formed the plan of a twofold invasion, the first was destined for Scotland under the leadership of Argyll, the second was intended for England and was entrusted to the charge of Monmouth. In June 1685 Monmouth landed with only eighty-two followers at Lyme Regis, where he issued a proclamation, branding James as a Popish usurper and asserting his own legitimacy and right to the crown. At Taunton he was proclaimed King, but shortly after, having attempted a night surprise on the royal forces, who lay encamped on Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, his troops were utterly routed and he himself compelled to take refuge in flight. A few days after he was discovered in the New Forest, hiding in a dry ditch covered with bracken. He was brought to London and allowed an interview with James, on which occasion he made the most abject entreaties for pardon, but James, finding that he would not disclose the names of his accomplices, sent him to the block. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, 1685.

Jeffreys, George (Lord), the "*infamous Jeffreys*," as he is called, was a clever but coarse and brutal judge, who was called to the Bar in 1668. He became solicitor to the Duke of York, and Recorder of London, and shortly after was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in which capacity he conducted the trials of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney for High Treason.

Under James II. he proved a ready tool in condemning every prisoner, who was brought before him as an enemy to the Crown, and as a reward of his services he was raised to the peerage. He presided over the trials of Titus Oates, and Richard Baxter and secured their condemnation. But it is in connection with the **Bloody Assize**, that his name and memory have become so infamous. In 1685 he was sent to try and punish the insurgents, who took part in Monmouth's ill-fated rebellion. With what blood-thirstiness he executed his commission may be gathered from the fact that in a few months no less than 320 were hanged and more than 800 transported to the plantations of the West

Indies. For this wholesale butchery he was rewarded by being made Lord Chancellor.

On James's flight he tried to escape, disguised as a common sailor, but was seized in a Wapping ale-house, and narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the mob. He was, however, rescued from their hands and lodged in the Tower, where he died a few months after, probably of the wounds he had received.

Purcell, Henry, one of the greatest of English composers, was born at Westminster in 1685, and at a very early age evinced a talent for musical composition. He was appointed organist of Westminster and afterwards of the Chapel Royal. His anthems still retain their popularity. Among his secular compositions may be mentioned his *Opera of Dido and Æneas*, and his music to *The Tempest*. Besides these he wrote many cantatas, odes, songs and instrumental pieces. He died in 1695.

Wren, Sir Christopher (1632-1723), was born in Wiltshire, educated at Westminster School, and Wadham College, Oxford, and became Fellow of All Souls' College. Afterwards he was elected Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and designed the Sheldonian Theatre in that city. The great fire of London opened a wide field for his great genius. He was chosen architect for the new St. Paul's, built on the model of St. Peter's at Rome. The construction of this magnificent edifice occupied thirty-seven years and cost £1,000,000. He also built fifty other churches in the place of those destroyed by the fire, and besides these the Royal Exchange, Greenwich Observatory and Hospital, Chelsea Hospital and the College of Surgeons.

Wren was buried in St. Paul's. Over his tomb is placed the fitting inscription—" *Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*"



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